U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Technical Information Service

CMP-SPRCM-76-29

US

SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL
HONG KONG, B.C.C.

1976

U. of ILL. LIBRARY

DEC 21 1976

CHICAGO CIRCLE

BEST SELLERS

FROM NATIONAL TECHNICAL INFORMATION SERVICE

NTIS

Product Liability Insurance: Assessment of Related Problems and Issues. Staff Study
PB-252 204/PAT 181 p PC$9.50/MF$3.00

Evaluation of Home Solar Heating System
UCRL-51 711/PAT 154 p PC$6.75/MF$3.00

Developing Noise Exposure Contours for General Aviation Airports
ADA-023 429/PAT 205 p PC$7.75/MF$3.00

Cooling Tower Environment, 1974. Proceedings of a Symposium Held at the University of Maryland Adult Education Center on Mar. 4-6, 1974
CONF-74 0302/PAT 648 p PC$13.60/MF$3.00

Biological Services Program. Fiscal Year 1975
PB-251 738/PAT 52 p PC$4.50/MF$3.00

An Atlas of Radiation Histopathology
TID-26-676/PAT 234 p PC$7.60/MF$3.00

Federal Funding of Civilian Research and Development. Vol. 1. Summary
PB-251 266/PAT 61 p PC$4.50/MF$3.00

Federal Funding of Civilian Research and Development. Vol. 2. Case Studies
PB-251 683/PAT 336 p PC$10.00/MF$3.00

Handbook on Aerosols
TID-26-608/PAT 141 p PC$6.00/MF$3.00

for the Assessment of Ocean Outfalls
ADA-023 514/PAT 34 p PC$4.00/MF$3.00

Guidelines for Documentation of Computer Programs and Automated Data Systems
PB-250 867/PAT 54 p PC$4.50/MF$3.00

NOx Abatement for Stationary Sources in Japan
PB-250 586/PAT 116 p PC$5.50/MF$3.00

U.S. Coal Resources and Reserves
PB-252 752/PAT 16 p PC$3.50/MF$3.00

Structured Programming Series. Vol. XI. Estimating Software Project Resource Requirements
ADA-016 416/PAT 70 p PC$4.50/MF$3.00

Assessment of a Single Family Residence Solar Heating System in a Suburban Development Setting
PB-246 141/PAT 244 p PC$8.00/MF$3.00

Technical and Economic Study of an Underground Mining, Rubblization, and in Situ Retorting System for Deep Oil Shale Deposits. Phase I Report
PB-249 344/PAT 223 p PC$7.75/MF$3.00

A Preliminary Forecast of Energy Consumption Through 1985
PB-251 445/PAT 69 p PC$4.50/MF$3.00

HOW TO ORDER

When you indicate the method of payment, please note if a purchase order is not accompanied by payment, you will be billed an addition $5.00 *ship and bill* charge. And please include the card expiration date when using American Express.

Normal delivery time takes three to five weeks. It is vital that you order by number or your order will be manually filled, insuring a delay. You can opt for *airmail delivery* for a $2.00 charge per item. Just check the *Airmail Service* box. If you're really pressed for time, call the NTIS Rush Order Service. (703) 557-4700. For a $10.00 charge per item, your order will be airmailed within 48 hours. Or, you can pick up your order in the Washington Information Center & Bookstore or at our Springfield Operations Center within 24 hours for a $6.00 per item charge.

You may also place your order by telephone or TELEX. The order desk number is (703) 557-4650 and the TELEX number is 89-9405.

Whenever a foreign sales price is NOT specified in the listings, all foreign buyers must add the following charges to each order: $2.50 for each paper copy; $1.50 for each microfiche; and $10.00 for each Published Search.

Thank you for your interest in NTIS. We appreciate your order.

METHOD OF PAYMENT

☐ Charge my NTIS deposit account no._____

☐ Purchase order no._____

☐ Check enclosed for $_____

☐ Charge to my American Express Card account number

Card expiration date_____

Signature_____

☐ Airmail Services requested

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY, STATE, ZIP_____

Item Number	Quantity		Unit Price*	Total Price*
	Paper Copy (PC)	Microfiche (MF)		

* All Prices Subject to Change

11/76

Sub Total	
Additional Charge	
Enter Grand Total	

Clip and mail to:

NTIS

National Technical Information Service
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Springfield, Va. 22161
(703) 557-4650 TELEX 89-9405

CMP-SPRCM-76-29

中华人民共和国杂志选译

Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines

American Consulate General
Hong Kong

No. 890-891
Sept. 27-Oct. 4, 1976

This edition is printed in the United States of America for dissemination in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa from material produced by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong. All queries concerning this edition should be sent to:

National Technical Information
Service (152.12)
U.S. Department of Commerce
Springfield, Virginia 22151

TABLE OF CONTENTS

(Hung-ch'i, No. 9, September 1, 1976)

Page

The Spirit of Communism Shines Brilliantly - by our commentator (p. 5) 3

Have Soaring Ambition and Rebuild a New T'angshan (p. 10) 8

The Party Organization Is the Firm Mid-Stream Rock in Anti-Quake and Relief Work (p. 15) 13

Vigorously Develop Mass Prediction and Precaution Against Earthquake (p. 19) . . . 18

Deepen Criticism of Teng on Ideological and Political Line - by Fang Kang (p. 22) . . . 22

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

PRICES SUBJECT TO CHANGE

Page

Reactionary Essence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's Going in Again for "Direct and Exclusive Control of Enterprises by the Ministry Concerned - by Chi P'ing (p. 25) 26

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's Revisionist Line and the Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius - by Liang Hsiao (p. 29) 31

Refute "Productive Power Is a Science" - by Cheng K'ai (p. 35) 37

Persist in Fighting Capitalist Roaders (p. 38) 40

Criticism of Teng Has Promoted Production (p. 41) 44

Bad Things Can Be Turned into Good Things - by Yen Feng (p. 44) 48

The Children's Corps Also Can Do Big Things (p. 48) 53

The Longer the Tempering, the Stronger the Will - by Fan Tzu-shan (p. 53) 59

Consolidate and Develop the Fruit of the Health Revolution in the Countryside - by Miao Yü (p. 57) 64

We Must Promote Diligence and Frugality and Practice Economy - by Ch'i Hsin (p. 61) 69

Study the Dialectics of Lu Hsün's Later Essays - by Feng Hua (p. 64) 73

Lu Hsün's Radiant Image Inspires Us to Fight - by I Cheng (p. 69) 80

The Two-Line Struggle in China's History of Earthquakes - by Yüeh Ting (p. 73) 85

* * *

Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China periodicals.

Quotations from Chairman Mao

Only socialism can save China.

Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be performed.

As long as we can grasp the Marxist-Leninist science, trust the masses, unite with them closely and lead them forward, it is entirely possible for us to surpass any obstacle and overcome any difficulty, and our strength is invincible.

An important task for us on the ideological front at present is to unfold criticism of revisionism.

A revolutionary political party and a revolutionary people must be repeatedly educated in the positive and negative aspects; they can be tempered and mature only through comparison and contrast between these two aspects, and it is only then that victory can be assured.

What "taking the three directives as the key link"! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.

This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of "white cat, black cat," making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism.

Classes Struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years. To interpret history from this viewpoint is historical materialism; standing in opposition to this viewpoint is historical idealism.

Lu Hsün's later essays are so penetrating and powerful and yet so free from one-sidedness precisely because he had grasped dialectics by then.

We must learn to look at problems all-sidedly, seeing the reverse as well as the obverse side of things. In given conditions, a bad thing can lead to good results and a good thing to bad results.

The duty of Communists is to expose the reactionaries and the wrong metaphysical ideas, to propagate the dialectics inherent in things, to promote the transformation of things and to reach the goal of revolution.

* * *

The Spirit of Communism Shines Brilliantly

by

Our Commentator

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

For the past month and more, the Chinese people have waged an unprecedented and extremely arduous anti-quake and relief struggle in the Tangshan-Fengnan area. In this struggle vast numbers of worker-peasant masses, Communist Party members, revolutionary cadres, PLA commanders and fighters, and medical staff have undergone rigorous tests and made great contributions. Their idea of taking class struggle as the key link is firm and clear-cut. Their dauntless revolutionary spirit is sublime and heroic. And the heroic deeds they have created are astounding. This is a university. It provides us with a brilliant example of the stirring proletarian revolutionary spirit in the course of a most arduous struggle, and it is a model for carrying forward the style of communism. From this we can learn many extremely useful things for our socialist revolution and socialist construction.

How did the people think and act at the critical movement when the disaster suddenly struck, when the earth and mountains shook with tremors? What many comrades first thought of was not their own safety or the safety of their families, but Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the masses and cadres around them, the property of the collective and state. They struggled to their feet from the debris and hastily plunged into the anti-quake and relief work before they had the time to wipe away the dust from their bodies or dress their wounds or rescue their family members. They displayed the lofty quality of sacrificing themselves for others and devoting themselves to the public interest heart and soul. When the earthquake occurred without warning and all communications were interrupted, the Party organizations at all levels, with a high sense of responsibility to the revolution and the people, immediately took the initiative to organize the Party members and arouse the masses for a prompt emergency mobilization. They fully demonstrated their role as fighting fortresses. The people throughout the country link their hearts with those of the people in the stricken areas. When one place is hit by a disaster, it receives help from all other places. Fearing neither sacrifice nor fatigue and working around the clock, workers, PLA commanders and fighters and medical personnel taking part in the anti-quake and relief effort have carried out a courageous and tenacious struggle to rescue their class brothers, repair communications lines, transport relief supplies, send away the injured, and resume production. It has become a common practice for people to "face danger and difficulties themselves while leaving to others what is safe and convenient." Helping and caring for each other, strengthening revolutionary unity and observing revolutionary discipline--this has become a conscious action among the broad masses. Our people are worthy of being called a heroic people. Our People's Liberation Army is worthy of being called an army of the people. The vast numbers of our communist Party members and revolutionary cadres have not fallen short of Chairman Mao's teachings and the people's expectations. At the crucial moment of struggle, they have shown their revolutionary hard bones. In the real communist spirit, they have written a brilliant chapter of history in which man triumphs over nature.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world." ("Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?") The victory of the anti-quake and relief struggle enables us to see clearly the tremendous force that the people can create by stirring up the proletarian revolutionary spirit and carrying forward the communist style. The Kailuan colliery was damaged, but the heroic Kailuan workers resumed the production of the No. 3 shaft of Machiakou mine and coal was successfully mined in a short span of 10 days. A section measuring more than 200 kilometers in length on the Peking-Shanhaikuan railway was damaged; the heroic railway workers and the fighters of the Railway Corps successfully put it back to operation in merely ten days of hard work. The earthquake caused heavy losses to the people in the stricken areas. If this had happened in the old society or in the capitaist world, what a grave disaster and tragic scene it would have caused. In our socialist country, however, it took only a few days to arrange for the people's clothing, food, lodging and medical care. Social order was maintained, the masses were calm and composed. Relying on "a Red heart and a pair of hands," people have accomplished quickly many things which appeared impossible, and many seemingly unsurmountable difficulties were overcome just as rapidly. This shows how important it is to have "a Red heart." "Red heart" means line consciousnessness, the proletarian revolutionary spirit, the communist spirit, the priceless tool with which we communists conquer difficulties, defeat the enemy and win the victory of the revolution. Within a long period of time of the Chinese revolution, big cities were in the hands of the enemy, and so were the economic lifeblood, airplanes and guns. We had almost nothing in these respects. But we had an ideological weapon and spiritual power. We had the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the leadership of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line which reflects the objective laws of the Chinese revolution, a Red heart of the proletariat. When we resolutely carried out the correct line of Chairman Mao, wholeheartedly served the people, trusted the masses, joined them and led them in marching forward, we were able to produce a tremendous force capable of removing mountains and filling seas, capture the various material conditions away from the enemy, make the things we didn't have, overthrow the three big mountains, and build a socialist new China. Today, the victory of the anti-quake and relief struggle has proved once more the Marxist verity that matter can be turned into consciousness and vice versa. It proves the importance of communist consciousness to the transformation of society and the world.

In 1958, Chairman Mao in his article "Introducing a Cooperative" warmly praised "the communist spirit which is growing apace throughout the country." Now we have again seen such a moving scene. In the current struggle against the quake and for relief, promotion of the communist style consists in two salient features, a high level of consciousness and extensive mass initiative. In other words, outstanding ideology and lofty style are displayed not by individuals or a handful of persons, but by many comrades. This is by no means accidental. For, through the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has taken deep root in people's hearts, and people know that what they are doing conforms with Chairman Mao's teachings and his revolutionary line, and is glorious, noble, virtuous, and beneficial to the people. They know that only by doing so can they triumph over natural calamities, develop production and rebuild their

homes. On the other hand, being afraid of difficulties, passive and pessimistic, selfish and going backward--this is characteristic of those who follow bourgeois ideology and the revisionist line. It is shameful and despicable and can only cause greater losses to the State and the people. It may be recalled that in the three years when the national economy encountered temporary difficulties, Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing were so cowed by difficulties that they pushed a revisionist line and practiced restoration and regression on a mass scale. They stifled the socialist enthusiasm of the masses and advocated "white or black, a cat that catches mice is a good cat." They supported the capitalist spontaneous forces "in each demonstrating their power like the Eight Immortals crossing the sea in a fairy tale." The result was a capitalist deluge, the appearance of freaks and monsters, aggravation of natural disasters, and more hardships of the State and the people. On the other hand, under Chairman Mao's great call "never forget classes and class struggle," the whole Party and the people of the whole country repulsed the frantic onslaught by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and surmounted the serious natural calamities, and the situation quickly turned for the better. Looking at the current anti-quake and relief struggle in the context of this historical experience, we will be able to realize more profoundly that the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. This series of political movements--the great cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the mass movement for the study of the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing verdicts--is of immense significance in that vast numbers of cadres and the masses are enabled to establish a correct ideological and political line, distinguish between right and wrong in line and considerably raise their consciousness of the need to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This is the basic reason why large numbers of heroic deeds, good people and good things have come to the fore in the anti-quake and relief struggle.

Like all opportunists, the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing, driven by his bourgeois reactionary instinct, mortally fears Communism. He regards the communist spirit, the communist style and all new things which are communist buds as evils to be either cursed or chopped off. Chopping these things off actually means chopping off in a considerable degree the superiority of the socialist system. On the other hand, he highly treasures capitalist things, "birthmarks" left behind by the old society, material incentives and bourgeois rights which are not to be criticized nor restricted. It seems that if they were criticized and restricted, people would become lazy, the economy would collapse, society would plunge into chaos, and the earth would stop turning. The victory of the anti-quake and relief struggle has once again declared the bankruptcy of such revisionist fallacies. Can it be that the appearance of any of the large numbers of heroic deeds and good people and good things is inspired by material incentives? By bourgeois rights? None at all, not even half of it. On the contrary, it is precisely because such sinister revisionist stuff as material incentives have been criticized and proletarian politics has been persistently put in command that the masses of people have fully exerted themselves and workd selflessly, consciously making more contributions toward socialism. It is precisely because we have criticized the revisionist line, restricted bourgeois rights, cemented the ties between cadres and the masses and implemented the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young that our Party organizations at all levels have greatly increased their fighting

power and many militant bastions which proved impregnable during the quake have emerged. Teng Hsiao-p'ing alleged that restricting bourgeois rights needs a "material foundation," but the practice of the anti-quake and relief struggle has once again proved that the more difficult the situation and the weaker the material foundation, the greater the need for leading cadres at all levels to restrict bourgeois rights consciously and to further carry forward the revolutionary spirit of sharing the weal and woe with the masses. The success in arranging for the livelihood of hundreds of thousands of people in the stricken areas and the huge victories won in restoring production and rebuilding homes in a matter of a few days are inseparable from the restriction of bourgeois rights in many respects.

As Lenin pointed out: The socialist period "is a period of struggle between declining capitalism and growing communism. ("Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 4, p.84) The communist spirit and style and the new things which are communist buds are important components of "growing communism." They represent new social relations,correspond with the orientation of social development, and will surely grow victoriously in the struggle against "declining capitalism." Lenin said: "What is meant by communism refers to such a system under which it becomes a universal phenomenon for people to be used to fulfilling their social obligations without special coercion, to working for the public good without pay." ("Subbotniks," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 4, p. 141) Obviously, to achieve this grand goal, we must still take a long and tortuous journey. But when, during the anti-quake and relief struggle, people worked selflessly for society on such a vast scale and without pay, when they sacrificed themselves for others and devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the public interest and had full faith in the strength and self-reliance of the people, wasn't that "an actual beginning of communism" ("A Great Beginning," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 4, p. 16)? And not only in the anti-quake and relief work but in ordinary times, on all fronts, during class and line struggles there are numerous instances of such extremely precious "beginning." We must warmly support it, develop it, study it, promote it vigorously and make it shine. We call ourselves communists because we fight for the ultimate realization of communism and, to this end, for the fulfillment of the tasks at various revolutionary stages. If we call ourselves communists but are cool to communist things like such capitalist roaders as Teng Hsiao-p'ing, then we shall completely betray the goal of communism and the tasks for the historical period of socialism.

The law of the unity of opposites is also the fundamental law of the development of things. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads in socialist society will definitely be reflected in the anti-quake and relief struggle. The thriving communist spirit exists in comparison with the decadent capitalist habits and develops in struggle against them. During the anti-quake and relief struggle, on the one hand the masses and cadres have adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, developed the proletarian revolutionary spirit and carried forward the communist style, and many heroic deeds and good people and good things have emerged. On the other hand, the revisionist line still exerts a harmful effect on certain persons, the bourgeoisie within the Party and a handful of class enemies are engaged in trouble-making and sabotage, demons and monsters as well as dregs of society surface, and the capitalist forces are on the move

for an attack against socialism. This shows that the anti-quake and relief struggle is definitely not simply a struggle between man and nature, but a struggle closely connected with class and line struggles. Party organizations at various levels and the masses of people in the stricken areas, together with the PLA men taking part in the anti-quake and relief struggle, have persistently taken class struggle as the key link, deepened the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and created revolutionary public opinion on a mass scale. They have grasped class struggle within the Party, dealt telling blows to the sabotage activities of class enemies, criticized the capitalist forces, and repudiated erroneous ideological tendencies of all descriptions. This has insured smooth progress of the anti-quake and relief struggle. In contrast with the ugly ideas and despicable acts which have been exposed and criticized, the spirit of communism shines more brilliantly, and the heroic deeds appear more magnificent and lofty. Poisonous weeds can be turned into fertilizer. In the struggle against the bourgeoisie within the Party and the ugly ideas and decadent habits of capitalism, people will develop the spirit of communism more extensively. Class struggle is still continuing. In the anti-quake and relief struggle, we must keep a firm grip on class struggle, the key link.

The heroic people in the stricken areas have set a brilliant example for us in calling forth the revolutionary spirit and carrying forward the communist spirit. They have created a great deal of valuable experiences. We must seriously sum them up and study them and apply them to socialist revolution and socialist construction. The road of revolution is not smooth, and there still will be hardships and hazards as well as violent storms. But as Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Great storms are not to be feared. It is amid great storms that human society progresses." ("Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work") So long as we uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, persistently take class struggle as the key link, and wage struggle against the bourgeoisie within the Party, class enemies and capitalist forces, against heaven and earth, no hardships and hazards can block our advance, and victory will always belong to the revolutionary people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought!

* * *

Have Soaring Ambition and Rebuild a New T'angshan

by

CCP T'angshan Municipal Committee

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

In the early hours of July 28, a strong earthquake struck T'angshan, a relatively densely populated industrial city. When the news broke, it aroused universal concern of the revolutionary people at home and abroad. They watched with anxiety what happened to the city after the quake. Could it overcome the serious difficulties created by the quake and continue to march forward on the big path of socialism?

It is true that the quake caused tremendous damage and loss in T'angshan. But the people of the city, armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, withstood the test and proved indefatigable. With the close concern of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and the all-out support of the people all over the country and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and under the strong leadership of the Party organizations at various levels, the city's working class and revolutionary people are now carrying out a soul-stirring struggle to overcome the effects of the quake and provide relief while penetratingly criticizing Teng, performing heroic deeds that catch the attention of the whole world.

"The proud people of T'angshan will not bend even if Mount T'ai weighs on them. They carry out relief work well and temper their Red heart. They are fighting the effects of the quake and transforming the mountains and rivers." This is the iron-like oath taken by the people of T'angshan, and it is also the way in which they have acted. The strong tremors damaged the surface structures of T'angshan, but they could not shake the firm faith of the people in marching ahead bravely along the big socialist path. Displaying the fearless proletarian revolutionary spirit, unyielding stamina and a high fighting will and spirit, they have united together and striven hard to overcome the difficulties. In T'angshan today, one finds people studying Chairman Mao's important directives and criticizing Teng with growing intensity everywhere--in the workshops, mining zones, tents, fields, roadwalks, under the light. The broadcasting station and the newspapers are every day pouring out heart-warming deeds about the anti-quake and relief work. Teams reporting victories in the anti-quake struggle are seen everywhere beating gongs and drums. The workers, racing against the time, are actively doing emergency repairs to shafts and machines for early resumption of operations; the poor and lower-middle peasants are carefully tending the fields for a bumper harvest. The streets are jammed with trucks loaded with relief materials, with armed worker militiamen patrolling around the clock. The masses are calm as usual and social order is maintained. The whole city is thriving with revolutionary vigor and vitality.

After the outbreak of the strong tremors, some people doubted whether we had the ability to overcome the effects of this grave natural disaster. In the view of those who thought of the T'angshan earthquake with the vision of capitalist society, T'angshan after the shocks must be a

desolate place strewn with corpses. The fact is just the opposite. The working class and the masses of people in T'angshan solemnly declare with their action: We have not only the ambition, confidence and the ability to overcome the disasterous effects of this strong quake, but also the ambition, confidence and the ability to build a socialist new T'angshan. They are deeply aware that to resume production and rebuild their homes is not merely an economic battle, but first of all a political battle, a battle to test their will, a major battle between the two classes and the two lines. And having this revolutionary will and with the support of the whole country, the people of the whole city, after more than a month of strenuous effort, have won great victories in the anti-quake and relief work. The situation keeps improving. The stricken people have been given suitable arrangements in regard to clothing, food and shelter; those who were injured have been given proper treatment. Production has been wholly or partially resumed in factory after factory and mine after mine. The Machiakou Mine of Kailuan Colliery has begun to produce coal again, the T'angshan Electric Power Generating Plant has begun to generate electricity, the T'angshan Iron and Steel Company has produced "steel to prove the will to fight the quake," and the T'angshan Auto Manufacturing Plant has produced the first batch of "anti-quake" brand trucks. Communications and telegraphic lines damaged by the quake have been rapidly restored, some stores have reopened, and "anti-quake schools" have resumed classes. A new town planning board has been established; in compliance with the principle of gradually reducing the three major differences, integrating town and country and the workers and peasants, it is now drawing up a grand blueprint and starts preparations for rebuilding T'angshan. The new T'angshan will basically remove the defects left behind by imperialism such as irrational geographical distribution of industry and pollution of the air and underground water. As our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "We Chinese have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations." ("On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism") With such proletarian revolutionary spirit, determination and ability, the people of T'angshan are writing songs in praise of man's triumph over nature, forcefully refuting Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and refuting all pessimists and doubters.

In the anti-quake and relief struggle, the people of T'angshan, showing no fear of difficulties and hazards, are bravely marching forward with double confidence and are winning one victory after another. Where do such strong revolutionary will and inexhaustible strength come from?

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The practice of the anti-quake and relief struggle has once more proved that once Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is grasped by the broad masses, it will turn into a great force for changing the society and changing nature, a force that will help us beat every difficulty and hazard and perform innumerable miracles on earth. If we are to adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we must firmly grasp class struggle as the key link and criticize revisionism in depth. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In all class societies, the members of the different social classes also enter, in different ways, into definite relations of production and engage in production to meet their material needs." ("On Practice") As long as classes exist, man's struggle against nature will always be closely linked with class struggle. In the anti-quake and relief struggle, should we take class struggle as the key

link and steadfastly keep to the socialist road or should we abolish class struggle as the key link and allow capitalism to spread unchecked? Should we put proletarian politics in command, have faith in man's ability to triumph over nature, believe in the masses and rely on them to beat the difficulties or should we see only material and not people, ignore the wisdom and strength of the masses and do nothing in face of difficulties? Should we achieve regeneration through our own efforts or wait passively for help from the above? All these are questions of principle concerning the struggle between the two lines. After the quake broke out, people of the whole city, under the leadership of Party organizations at various levels, repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's teachings given over the years, studied the telegram of consolation from the Party Central Committee to the people of the stricken areas, and studied the editorials and comments of the central newspapers and journals on anti-quake and relief work, thereby drawing tremendous spiritual strength from them. They recalled that in the three-year period of temporary economic difficulties Teng Hsiao-p'ing, together with Liu Shao-ch'i, whipped up the evil wind of san-tzu i-pao, trumpeted the "white cat, black cat" theory, and in collaboration with the anti-China chorus of the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, vainly tried to restore capitalism in China. They deeply recognized that when more serious natural disasters struck, it often was a time when class struggle was more acute and revisionism could easily spread unchecked. Therefore, when carrying out the anti-quake and relief work, it is necessary for us to remain sober politically and firmly grasp class struggle as the key link. If we discard class struggle as the key link and give up our struggle against revisionism, it will be impossible to carry out the anti-quake and relief work smoothly. Party organizations at various levels in our city, resolute in enforcing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and taking class struggle as the key link, have not forgotten to criticize Teng while fighting against the effects of the quake, nor have they forgotten to check the enemy's activity while checking the aftermath of the quake. Taking the anti-quake and relief scene as a battleground to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, they have extensively mobilized the masses to make penetrating criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and fallacies, deal firm blows to the sabotage activities by class enemies, criticize the inner-Party bourgeoisie, and hit at capitalist tendencies. This has assured the correct orientation of anti-quake and relief work, and more new victories have been won.

The masses of people are the motive force in the making of history. The anti-quake and relief struggle has given most vivid expression to this historical-materialist verity. Having firm faith in and directly relying on the working class and the masses of people throughout the city is an important reason for the victories won in the anti-quake and relief work. In the old China, the workers in T'angshan, brutally exploited and oppressed by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, waged a hard and unique struggle against the three big enemies. They had a glorious revolutionary tradition. As early as 1926, Chairman Mao highly eulogized the Chinese industrial proletarians, including the K'ailuan miners, as a "special detachment," the "leading force in the revolutionary movement." ("Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society") The fact that heroes have emerged in a large number and many victories have been won in the current anti-quake and relief struggle has fully indicated that, tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and advancing in

the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, the working class and revolutionary people in T'angshan have incomparably warm love for Chairman Mao, the Communist Party and socialism. Their consciousness of class and line struggles and of continuing the revolution has risen to an unprecedented height, and the communist spirit is thriving among them. With the land rocked, mountains shaken and houses collapsed, many fearlessly and calmly stuck to their posts and protected state property. As the after-shocks continued to be felt and the land was still trembling, in disregard for the safety of their family members, many rushed back to their factories to report for work and ask for assignments. In the battle to rescue their class brothers, resume production and rebuild their homes, many worked around the clock, forgetting their meals and forgoing their sleeping hours; eventually they conquered all sorts of unimaginable difficulties and performed one wonder after another on earth. Among the hundreds of heroic characters who distinguished themselves in the anti-quake and relief work are Li Yü-lin (李玉林) who, putting his own safety and that of his family aside, drove a car the night the disaster struck to make a report to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee; Chia Pang-yu (贾邦友) who showed no fear even when ventilation and power were cut in the shaft, was the last to remain and organized the workers in the shaft to escape to safety; Ch'en Shu-mei (陈树梅) and four other miners who, with astonishing revolutionary will power, returned to the surface from the shaft after being trapped for 348 hours; and Ma Shu-lan (马淑兰) who stuck to the telephone switchboard even when the building was in danger of collapsing during the quake. Their selflessness and fearlessness, their spirit of sacrificing themselves for others and their utter loyalty to the revolution--these noble qualities demonstrated the great spiritual outblook of the Chinese working class and revolutionary people. With such heroic workers and masses of people, is there any enemy we cannot defeat or any difficulty we cannot overcome? The heroic K'ailuan miners said rightly: "In war years the guns of imperialists and reactionaries failed to conquer us; in the period of socialist revolution, the attacks of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and all class enemies have not crushed us. So the current grave natural disaster cannot crush us." Teng Hsiao-p'ing's advocacy that "reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative" has not in the slightest tarnished the brilliant image of the Chinese working class and revolutionary people, but can only expose his bourgeois ugly soul and hostility to the people.

The fact that resounding victories were won in the anti-quake and relief work in T'angshan in such a short time fully shows the huge superiority of the socialist system. After the outbreak of the strong tremors, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, extremely concerned for the people of the stricken areas, despatched a telegram of consolation and sent a comfort mission to us, thereby giving us a great encouragement. The Chinese People's Liberation Army promptly arrived and, displaying the revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death," assisted in rescue and relief operations, making tremendous contributions to the people. "When one places has difficulties, help for it comes from all other places." "What is needed in the stricken areas will be supplied." All provinces, cities and autonomous regions in the country, promoting the lofty communist style, gave us all-out support in manpower and material. Indeed, "the whole nation is like a coordinated chess game." The people of T'angshan deeply feel that we are not

fighting alone and we have the strong backing of the 800 million people. Under the capitalist system people deceive each other and profit at each other's expense; in capitalist society money is the "Almighty," and the relationship between man and man is one of callous cash transactions. How can there be any instance of "sacrificing oneself for others"? A sharp contrast between socialism and capitalism enables the people and cadres to further realize the great verity that "only socialism can save China." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") With strong facts they criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attack on the socialist system and his spreading "the present is not as good as the past" fallacy. Many people said emotionally: "Were such a serious natural disaster to happen in the old society, we certainly would be crushed to death or die of hunger or illness. Today, with the close concern of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and with the support of the people of the whole country and the Liberation Army, we do not suffer when natural disasters strike. Nothing on earth can compare with Chairman Mao's benefaction, and nothing is as good as socialism? We'll never let Teng Hsiao-p'ing reverse the verdicts of the great cultural revolution, settle his old scores with it and restore capitalism!" The superior socialist system and the support of the people of the whole country aroused in a greater degree the revolutionary will of regeneration through self-reliance and hard struggle on the part of the people and cadres in T'angshan. All of them indicated with resolve that with the whole country supporting us, we must think of the whole country, strive to restore production all round at an early date and rebuild a socialist new T'angshan so as to make more contributions to the state.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Violent wind and waves are not to be feared. It is amid violent wind and waves that human society has developed." ("Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work") The current strong earthquake is a very good tempering and test to the people and cadres in T'angshan. When the river water flows out of T'ungkuan, it is blocked by T'aihua, and it flows more rapidly; when the wind blows across the Three Gorges, it is blocked by Mount Wu and it roars even louder. The serious quake has greatly aroused the heroic spirit of the people of T'angshan to storm heaven, and our revolutionary spirit has soared even higher. Uniting more closely in struggle has enabled us to increase our confidence and skills in overcoming any difficulty. Our capacity to cope with any contingency has grown. Do the imperialists and social-imperialists not play up the power of the atom and hydrogen bombs? As a matter of fact, like the earthquake, the atom or hydrogen bomb is merely a paper tiger. The current anti-quake and relief struggle is also a very good exercise for preparing against war, for it has given us valuable experience. "The decisive factor is man, not material." ("On Protracted War") This is a great verity confirmed by innumerable facts. Only the masses of people armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought are the real iron bastions, which are invulnerable to serious natural disasters or to surprise raids by imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries.

Although T'angshan was hit by a serious earthquake, the people of the city have not fallen; rather, they have conquered the quake. Before very long a brand-new and more beautiful socialist new T'angshan will surely appear in the east of Asia. Our goal must and will be achieved. Let the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries and the bourgeois overlords in the Party weep in a corner. The people of T'angshan, who have not been shaken into submission, are now on the march!

* * *

The Party Organization Is the Firm Mid-Stream Rock in Anti-Quake and Relief Work

by

CCP Fengnan County Committee

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

A strong earthquake that took place on July 28 caused very heavy losses to the lives and property of the people in our county. However, with the Party organizations at various levels acting as mid-stream rocks, the people of the whole county were not frightened nor admitted defeat. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, Party organizations at various levels and Party members in the whole county, displaying the proletarian hard-bone spirit, led the masses of people in waging a valiant struggle against the quake, and resounding victories were won.

Now, suitable arrangements have been made for the livelihood of the people of the county, and the wounded have been properly taken care of. Agricultural production has been back to normal. The masses are in high spirits. Work in all fields is progressing smoothly. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, a solid fruit of the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and an inspiring song in praise of man's triumph over nature. The victories over the quake have once more testified to the superiority of the socialist system in our country as well as demonstrating the indefatigable strength of the revolutionary people under Party leadership.

The quake was a surprise attack, but it caused no panic among our Party organizations at various levels. Comrade P'eng Yen-chang (彭砚章), the old "squad chief" of the county Party committee, had scarcely crawled out from his collapsed house than he called an emergency meeting of the standing committee and a meeting of the county anti-quake and relief committee to prepare plans for county-wide relief work. Party organizations at various levels and Party members throughout the county displayed our Party's revolutionary tradition of fighting gallantly and filling the place of those who fell in front in war years. When a secretary fell, a deputy secretary came forward. When a deputy secretary lost his life, a committee member took his place. The Party leading groups were promptly strengthened. Members of the Hsiaochi Work Committee suffered more serious casualties during the quake; T'ien Feng-chün (田风军), the 26-year-old secretary of the work committee and a Red Guard fighter in former years, came forward bravely and presided over the formation of a temporary leading group. Having no time to care for the deaths and injuries of his family, he spent a full day visiting the 12 brigades of Hsiaochi Commune in the company of a middle-aged cadre. They inspected the damage caused by the quake, organized rescue operations, inspired the fighting will among the masses, and took timely and effective measures to fight the effects of the quake and provide relief. Holding the hands of these two visitors, the poor and lower-middle peasants said: "At a time like this, you are leading us to fight. We can rely on you and won't be afraid of the

disaster, however serious!" Party organizations at various levels brought their role as a fighting fortress into full play in face of the quake. The strong tremors could destroy our houses, but they could not smash the Party organizations at various levels which were armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. After the heavy shocks, our old cadres, showing no fear of the danger facing them, led the fight against the quake; our young cadres, bravely taking the heavy responsibility, directed the operations. This fully proved that the three-in-one leading groups combining the old, the middle-aged and the young set up during the great proletarian cultural revolution are equal to the test. Teng Hsiao-p'ing attacked the three-in-one leading groups of our Party at various levels for being "soft, lazy and loose." It may be asked: are there in the world such "soft, lazy and loose" groups which stand like a rock during the quake? Are there such "soft, lazy and loose" people who can shoulder a load of a thousand catties and who refuse to bend their backs even when Mount T'ai weighs on them? Facts are the most powerful criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary fallacies.

During the arduous anti-quake and relief struggle, there are thousands of pieces of work to be done, but the most fundamental task is to persist in criticizing Teng and taking class struggle as the key link. The relationship between class struggle and the anti-quake and relief work is one between the key link and secondary links, between the commander and the commanded. When we firmly grasp class struggle as the key link, deepen the criticism of Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, our anti-quake and relief work will be provided with a correct political orientation and it will be possible to victoriously fulfill the great task of overcoming the effects of the quake. The damage caused by a strong quake is of course serious, but if we discard class struggle as the key link in face of the quake, refrain from deepening the criticism of Teng, lower our revolutionary vigilance, and allow class enemies and freaks and demons to come out and capitalism to spread unchecked, then more serious damage could be caused than that brought by the quake. Therefore, under no circumstances should we attend only to production and relief and drop class struggle, the key link. After the quake, Party organizations at various levels in our county organized and led the masses to seriously study Chairman Mao's important directives concerning criticism of Teng and repulsing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. In relation to the realities of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines during the anti-quake and relief work, they penetratingly criticized the theory of the dying out of class struggle, the theory of productive forces, and the "white cat, black cat" theory peddled by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. They also criticized his opposition to relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers and to regeneration through our own efforts as well as his various fallacies he formerly spread in face of natural calamities. At the same time, the masses were mobilized to expose and strike at the sabotage activities by a handful of class enemies. The struggle resulted in greatly boosting the morale of the proletariat and deflating the arrogance of the bourgeoisie; it consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and pushed the anti-quake and relief work. The practice of struggle enabled us to see more clearly the reactionary nature of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "taking the three directives as the key link" and enhance our consciousness of carrying out the Party's basic line. Class struggle has never died out for a single moment, and in rebuilding our homes we must firmly grasp class struggle as the key

link in all fields of work and must not change course. All ideas and practices which encourage people to attend only to production and anti-quake work and drop the struggle between the two classes and two lines are wrong.

Chairman Mao says: "Our comrades in difficult circumstances should see the achievements and the bright future ahead of them. We must pluck up our courage." ("Serve the People") Faced with the quake, some cadres and people are prone to ideological vacillation, and it is particularly necessary to work on them, to educate them in the proletarian revolutionary spirit and fearless heroic spirit, to inspire their fighting will. Following the quake, Party organizations at various levels intensified their propaganda and educational work among the masses, making full use of such facilities as wired broadcasting and political evening schools, launching literary and art propaganda, issuing appeals and unfolding heart-to-heart talks. Leading cadres at various levels went deep into the grassroots to organize the masses to repeatedly study Chairman Mao's relevant teachings, the telegram of consolation from the Party Central Committee, the editorial of Jen-min Jih-pao and the commentary of Hung-ch'i, thereby guiding them to look at the quake from the materialist-dialectical viewpoint and to see not only the difficulties caused by the quake but also the various favorable conditions for overcoming the difficulties. In this way, everyone deeply recognized the great creative power of the laboring people themselves and strengthened their faith in man's ability to triumph over nature. People said that Fengnan before the liberation had no factories in its urban area and no machines, electric power and pumping stations in its rural area, and that these were developed only after the liberation, having been created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. Although these were wrecked by the quake, the more than 400,000 people of our county could rebuild them with their own hands provided they pulled themselves together. While issuing relief materials, Party organizations at various levels gave extensive publicity to the close concern of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the support from the people all over the country, the superiority of the socialist system, the strength of the collective economy and the determination and methods to overcome the effects of the quake. Through such ideological and political work, everyone was able to recognize deeply the great truth that "only socialism can save China." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") They saw that views of pessimism and incompetence were idealist world views of the exploiting classes, views which did not conform to the facts of development of human society and still less to the facts of our socialist revolution and construction. Seeing the bright future ahead of them, the masses exhibited a high degree of revolutionary spirit and further enhanced their socialist initiative. People said proudly: "The more serious the disaster, the greater our determination to beat the difficulties!" An upsurge of grasping revolution and promoting production was quickly whipped up in the county, where scenes of growing vitality are evident.

Our Party is a proletarian political party, a party which truly represents the interests of the people and is responsible toward the people. To overcome the difficulties caused the people by the strong quake, the leading members of Party organizations at various levels and the vast numbers of Party members fully displayed the exemplary role as the vanguard, devoted themselves to the public interest and the interests of others, and devised all ways to meet the needs of the masses for clothing, food, shelter and medicine.

Li Yün-han (李云汉), secretary of the Taoti Work Committee, was seriously injured in the leg, and his home was also wrecked by the quake. But he put these personal problems aside and with the help of a stick, he perseveringly directed the masses in rescue operations and made satisfactory arrangements for the livelihood of the masses. Before the arrival of medical teams from other areas, Party organizations at various levels promptly organized the local medical workers and barefoot doctors to "fight in defense of their own village" and rescue and treat the injured. When medical supplies were in short supply, some Party branches decided that unless they were seriously injured, Communist Party members should not use medicine. Kao Hsi-chiang (高喜江), secretary of the Party branch of Pachieh brigade of Hsükochuang, was injured in the chest and found the pain unbearable. When a barefoot doctor wanted to give him an injection, he determinedly refused the injection and asked the barefoot doctor to give it to someone else. He said: "The harsher the situation, the greater need to put the interests of the masses first." When some communes and brigades were distributing the clothing, food, mattresses and blankets received from other areas, they issued them first to the masses and then the Party members. In Liuho brigade of Hsiaochi Commune, which was more seriously affected by the quake, the Party branch organized the masses to erect simple sheds against rain and tide and temporary collective mess halls by relying on the collective economic strength. So there were no problems of food and shelter for the commune members on the day the quake struck. With the effort of Party organizations at various levels, the county was able quickly to provide food, drinking water, clothing and shelter for everyone, to treat the injured locally or send them to other areas for treatment. Besides, the Party organizations at various levels mobilized the masses to improve sanitation facilities, eliminating mosquitoes and flies and preventing plagues or diseases. Many old poor peasants said with deep feeling: "If such a serious natural disaster had happened in the old society, we would have to flee to other places and beg for food. If we were not crushed to death, we would have died of hunger, disease or cold. Now, there is no worry about food and clothing. Yes, nothing can compare with the Party's benefaction!"

After the quake struck, people all over the country gave us considerable support in manpower, material and money, and such support is still continuing. This is an expression of the close concern of the people of the whole country for us. But we must not wait for help; we must "rest on our own strength." ("The Situation and Our Policy after the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan") We must give full scope to the initiative and creativeness of all the Party members, cadres and people of the entire county to solve our difficulties, develop our production and rebuild our homes by our own efforts. All the Party members, cadres and people throughout the county are determined to work hard with their own hands so as to minimize the burden of the state and make contributions to the state. Chairman Mao has said: "Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be performed." ("The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History") When the river dike was damaged by the quake, the communes and brigades along the river did not wait for the state to allocate funds and manpower; instead, they promptly organized the masses to carry out emergency repairs, bringing along pickes, hoes, baskets and carts. Many communes and brigades organized the commune members to leave for the fields on the third day after the quake to strengthen the crop management in the large fields, so that output would not be reduced even in a year of natural calamity. Some

communes and brigades pledged "three-no-less," that is, their total grain output, their sales of grain to the state and the income of their commune members would not be less than last year. While striving to increase production, the Party organizations at various levels also mobilized the masses to practice severe austerity. While clearing the ground, they should cherish every grain, every screw and every inch of cloth, striving to reduce the loss and lighten the burden on the state. In building houses, many communes and brigades did not request help from the above, but instead used whatever local materials were available and mobilized the masses to collect bricks, stones and timber. Some brigades supported other communes and brigades by giving them the building materials they themselves had saved. We are convinced that under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, adhering to the policy of self-reliance and arduous struggle and plain living and giving full play to the infinite creative power of the masses of people, we shall be able to draw the newest and the most beautiful picture with the ideal paint on the great land of Fengnan.

The practice of the anti-quake and relief struggle over the past month and more has proved that no quake can shake our strong determination to take the socialist road or prevent us from marching in broad strides in building socialism. Some comrades said rightly: "The quake has pushed the revolutionary people forward! It has made Communists more proud of themselves!" The quake has made people see more clearly the superiority of the socialist system. Some people said: "Happiness for an individual is no happiness. Only by relying on socialism can we achieve happiness for all." In the course of the anti-quake and relief struggle, the cadres and masses have cemented their ties and their socialist consciousness has been greatly enhanced. The spiritual strength will undoubtedly turn into a huge material strength. We shall certainly march with greater strides on the socialist path. Moving instances of actively restricting bourgeois rights and narrowing the differences have appeared. The strong quake is a bad thing, but it can become a good thing in front of Communists and the revolutionary people guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

To be sure, there are still many difficulties facing us, but we have the means and the ability to overcome them. We communists and revolutionary people work and struggle for solving difficulties. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and driven by the struggle to criticize Teng in depth and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we shall surely be able to overcome the effects of the quake and continue to forge ahead. Victory shall certainly belong to us. There will arise tomorrow a socialist new countryside in Fengnan where red flags flutter and a hundred flowers compete for beauty.

* * *

Vigorously Develop Mass Prediction and Precaution Against Earthquake

by

CCP Committee of Tungch'eng District,
Peking Municipality

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

Mass prediction and precaution in seismic work is a new socialist thing created by the Chinese people during the great proletarian cultural revolution. Practice proves that this new thing has a strong vitality and plays a very positive role in improving our work to take precaution against earthquake and combat its effects and in promoting the development of scientific and research work in seismology in our country.

Mass prediction and precaution in our district was initiated last year after studying Chairman Mao's directive on the theory of proletarian dictatorship. In order to strengthen leadership over this work, the district Party committee set up an anti-quake leading group headed by a deputy secretary. A seismic office was also established. Bureaus, departments and neighborhood Party committees all set up anti-quake command headquarters. Over the past year and more, in light of the spirit of the directives of the Central and Municipal Party Committees concerning anti-quake work, we have put the stress on carrying out propaganda among the masses and organizing the masses to cope with a quake. More than 20 report meetings on earthquake attended by more than 2,200 persons in all have been held in the district. More than 300 earthquake film shows have been staged, with a total audience of 250,000 persons. More than 7,000 copies of books, pamphlets and wall maps concerning earthquake have been distributed. Besides, a variety of forms such as broadcasting, exhibitions and blackboard bulletins have been utilized to conduct extensive propaganda among cadres and the masses on the vital significance of mass prediction and precaution and basic anti-quake knowledge. We have also initially established a mass observation force. There are now eleven mass observation points staffed by more than 200 amateur seismologists. Using indigenous methods, they have installed, by their own hands, a variety of forecasting devices to monitor the telluric current, soil stress, ground tilt, earth sound, earth temperature, meteorological phemonena, telluric magnetic declination, phytogenic current, conductivity of hydro-electricity, and the water level of wells. We have drawn up a plan for district-wide evacuation in case a quake strikes and made concrete arrangements for the location and routes of mass evacuation, food supplies and security protection. We have also set up six specialized teams respectively charged with rescue and emergency repair operations, first aid, communications and transport, material supplies, security protection, and tele-communications contact. All these have played a definite role in the current anti-quake struggle.

It has taken some time for us to recognize the importance of mass prediction and precaution against earthquake. At first, some comrades contended that we were not a scientific research unit, being ignorant of

seismology and devoid of practical experience and seismic equipment. It simply wouldn't do to rely on the masses for forecasting. Other comrades argued that since the state seismic department runs professional observatories in the capital, it didn't matter much whether we went in for mass prediction and precaution in this area. In view of these erroneous notions, we seriously studied Chairman Mao's teaching that "in whatever work we do, we must carry out a mass movement. Without the mass movement, nothing can be accomplished." We studied the advanced experience of fraternal units and criticized the "mysticism" of scientific research and the "theory that the masses are backward" spread by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and company and their line of relying on specialists. Gradually we increased our understanding of mass prediction and precaution.

China is an earthquake-prone country, with widely distributed seismic regions, and it is impossible to set up professional observatories in all localities. At the same time, the premonitary signs of a quake are varied and extensive, but the observation means of professional observatories are limited. This requires integration of professional and amateur observation, entailing the need to develop mass prediction and precaution. One of the outstanding features of mass prediction and precaution is that there are more observation points staffed by more people and with more observation means. With this force of amateur seismologists standing on guard at advance positions, it is possible to cast a wide net and grasp in time a large number of macroscopic and microscopic phenomena before the outbreak of a quake and provide rich and reliable data for forecasting. Before the current strong quake occurred in the T'angshan-Fengnan area, seven of our observation points had detected unusual signs, showing that mass prediction and precaution is of positive significance. The force of amateur seismologists is also a propaganda force which disseminates seismic knowledge among the broad masses. When the current strong quake in the T'angshan-Fengnan area spilled over to Peking, the broad masses in our area, calm as ever, evacuated speedily, and the various kinds of work--security protection, first aid, and food supplies--were carried out smoothly, reducing the loss caused by the quake. This is inseparable from propaganda and education carried out before the quake, the organizational work and the backbone role of the force of amateur seismologists.

The role of mass prediction and precaution is not only shown in the anti-quake struggle, but also provides an important way to develop seismology itself. As we know, an earthquake is a complicated natural phenomenon, and at present many problems about it still remain unsolved. If we are to truly master the laws of earthquake and accurately forecast an earthquake, we must rely on the masses, and not on a few people doing the job. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth." ("On Practice") The masses of people are the direct practicers in changing society and nature; they are the main force for the development of science and technology. Persisting in mass prediction and precaution, we shall surely be able to promote the rapid development of the seismic science. Although only a short time has elapsed since our area initiated the mass prediction and precautionary activities, yet a large amount of data has been accumulated which are useful for the study of the seismic conditions and for the further mastery of the three important factors of seismic forecasting. This shows that provided we firmly rely on the masses, bring the wisdom of the masses into full play, practice integration of

professional and amateur seismologists and combination of modern and indigenous methods, we shall definitely be able to make greater contributions to mankind in the sphere of seismology.

Practice over the past year and more has made us deeply aware that what attitude we should take toward mass prediction and precaution and whether or not we go in for mass prediction and precaution is a question that concerns whether or not we implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, a question of whether or not we persist in exercising overall dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the sphere of seismic science. The arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing, consistently opposed to taking the mass line in scientific research work and extremely hostile to the new socialist things that appear on the scientific and technological front, declared that "reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative" and opposed the occupation of the scientific and technological position by the workers, peasants and soldiers on the ground that their cultural level was so low that they were incapable of carrying out scientific research. This showed that he obstinately insisted on exercising a bourgeois dictatorship in the sphere of science and technology. Within our own ranks, some people who were influenced and harmed by the revisionist line also entertained in different degrees the erroneous notion of belittling "indigenous methods," and even thought that "when not all the problems of seismic forecasting have been solved in foreign countries, how can these indigenous apparatuses do anyting?" To vigorously develop mass prediction and precaution, we must persevere in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, repudiate the bourgeois ideas of having blind faith in "specialists" and "authorities" and belittling the masses, and promote the rapid growth of new socialist things on the seismic front.

An important characteristic of mass prediction and precaution is that it has an extremely extensive and mass character. If only the understanding of the masses is raised and their socialist enthusiasm aroused, everything can be done well. After the outbreak of the current quake in the T'angshan-Fengnan area, the force of amateur seismologists has gained further development in the course of the anti-quake struggle. Some units which formerly paid insufficient attention to mass prediction and precaution have now set up mass observation points on their own initiative. Some mass observation points have strengthened leadership and augmented their strength. The number of amateur seismologists in the whole area has rapidly risen from 120 before the quake to more than 200. We must not only raise our vigilance against earthquake but also deal with it calmly and resolutely insure the normal progress of production. In order that production and operations would not be suspended following a quake, in over 70 percent of the units in the industrial and finance and trade systems in the area the masses have created a number of simple and practicable indigenous methods for giving early warnings, so as to make observation work render better service to "grasping revolution and promoting production."

Mass prediction and precaution must persist in "indigenous methods, being amateur and barefoot." Mass observation points and posts are fine in that, first, they are self-reliant and use indigenous equipment and methods which are simple and practical, and second, their members do not detach themselves

from productive labor and their own jobs. They run these points and posts on a spare-time basis and being barefoot. Only by keeping to these two requirements will it be possible to make a success of the mass anti-quake struggle. If we seek advice and help from the higher level in doing everything, chase after modern instruments and equipment and specialization, and divorce ourselves from production and from our own jobs, it will naturally be impossible to develop mass prediction and precaution, nor will it possible to have a real mass basis. The Peking Municipal No. 2 Middle School originally had one or two observation instruments, but with the teachers and students working self-reliantly to develop native instruments, it now has nearly ten observation apparatuses. To have the data automatically recorded by machines on a continuous basis and accurately, they went to the relevant units to look for used products. They bought a cheap automatic recording machine which had been reported as obsolete and successfully converted it on a preliminary basis after repeated experiments day and night. Since establishing an observation point, the teachers and students of this school have strictly followed the principle of being amateur and barefoot and combined seismic observation with the educational revolution and opening the school to society.

The key to continuous growth of this new thing, mass prediction and precaution, lies in strengthening Party leadership. Mass prediction and precaution should not be regarded as merely the business of the seismic department. We must consciously put it on the daily agenda of the Party committee, ardently foster the growth of this new thing, sum up the experience and improve it continuously. For the past year and more, we have at one time and another summed up six different typical cases and held three meetings to exchange experience. We have attained relatively good results in developing mass prediction and precaution. At present we are organizing the amateur seismologists to seriously sum up the experiences and lessons of mass prediction and precaution in light of the realities of the struggle between the two classes and two lines so as to be able to distinguish between right and wrong on line and enhance their consciousness. Mass prediction and precaution against earthquake in our area has merely begun, and much remains to be done. To protect Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee, the socialist revolution and construction and the lives and property of the people in the capital, we must, together with the broad masses of people, set an ambitious goal, develop the revolutionary spirit of "nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights," and make a further success of the anti-quake work.

* * *

Deepen Criticism of Teng on Ideological and Political Line

by

Fang Kang (方 剛)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

Given impetus by the great struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, the situation in both revolution and production throughout China is excellent. A violent earthquake rocked the Tangshan-Fengnan area in Hopei province recently. Confronted by the serious natural disaster, workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres in the stricken area, carrying forward the revolutionary spirit that man will triumph over nature, remained undaunted and fought courageously. They have deepened the criticism of Teng and vigorously carried out the anti-quake and relief work, writing one inspiring song of victory after another and creating one miracle after another on earth. This has vividly demonstrated that the Chinese people, tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and triumphantly advancing in the course of the great struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, are capable of withstanding any acid test and capable of overcoming all difficulties and defeating any enemy at home or abroad.

We have already won great victories. However, the struggle has not come to a close. To concentrate fire in deepening the criticism of Teng in the light of actual conditions while taking class struggle as the key link and adhering to the Party's basic line remains a task of prime importance for the whole Party and the people of the whole country.

The masses and cadres throughout China are currently making a deep-going study of Chairman Mao's important instructions and concentrating on criticizing the three big anti-Party, anti-Marxist poisonous weeds concocted on the instructions of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, namely "On the General Program for All Work of the Party and the Country," "Some Problems Concerning the Work of Science and Technology" ("An Outline Report" for short) and "Some Problems in Accelerating Industrial Development" (or "Regulations for Industry"). This indicates that the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing verdicts is continuing to surge ahead.

The essential political characteristic of the capitalist roaders in the Party is that they pursue a revisionist line. The most important point in our struggle against the capitalist roaders like Teng Hsiao-p'ing is to solve the problem of political line, that is, to prevail over their revisionist line by means of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The three reactionary documents prove to the hilt that Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line is a continuation of that of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. These documents, which present systematically the revisionist views peddled in Teng Hsiao-p'ing's many "speeches," are a concentrated expression of the ultra-Right nature of his revisionist line. Chairman Mao has clearly explained in his instructions why "taking the three directives as the key link" as trumpeted by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is a revisionist program, and if we read "On the General Program" again,

we will see even more concretely the reactionary content of this program for capitalist restoration and regression. Taking Teng Hsiao-ping's "speeches" in 1975 as its groundwork, this big poisonous weed gives a comprehensive explanation to his "taking the three directives as the key link." It flagrantly preaches the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces, opposes taking class struggle as the key link, distorts the Party's basic line, and directs the spearhead of its attack at our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. It is Teng Hsiao-p'ing's political declaration for an all-round restoration of capitalism in China. While "On the General Program" is the main body, "An Outline Report" and "Regulations for Industry" form its two wings. "An Outline Report," which opposes the all-round dictatorship exercised by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the field of science and technology and all other spheres of the superstructure and opposes the socialist revolution in the superstructure, beats the drum for his revisionist line and pushes it in the most flagrant way. The "Regulations for Industry" tries in every way to oppose the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and a whole series of principles and policies formulated by Chairman Mao for the socialist revolution and construction. It is a systematic presentation of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's bureaucrat-comprador-capitalist ideas which aim to restore capitalism under the cloak of "accelerating industrial development." These three big poisonous weeds, which comprise Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, principles and policies governing a whole range from the superstructure to the economic base, constitute an all-embracing blueprint of his attempts to restore capitalism and return to the old order in China. They are rare teaching materials by negative example for the masses of the people. Poisonous weeds can be turned into manure. To make a serious analysis and criticism of these three big poisonous weeds by getting hold of the crux of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line is not only imperative for the cadres and masses in distinguishing between right and wrong on matters of political line and eliminating the pernicious influence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line. It is also highly significant for them in acquiring a clear understanding of Chairman Mao's instruction that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party, in fostering the concept of waging a protracted struggle against the capitalist roaders and adhering to Marxism and combating revisionism in the entire historical period of socialism.

To penetratingly criticize Teng is a struggle to oppose revisionism by means of Marxism. A habitual tactic of revisionism is to hoist the Red flag to oppose the Red flag. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "taking the three directives as the key link" is a specimen of emasculating and tampering with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It basically distorts Chairman Mao's instructions and throws away the revolutionary soul of Mao Tsetung Thought; it then picks up the pieces, puts them together and places them all in the position of "key link" as to confuse the aim with secondary issues and abolish class struggle as the key link. Chairman Mao's instruction--"What 'taking the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it"--is a most profound criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link." There are many tactics similar to "taking the three directives as the key link" in the three pieces of teaching material by negative example, and to analyze and criticize these

tactics will give us a profound impression of how revisionism opposes Marxism and thoroughly betrays dialectical and historical materialism by means of eclecticism, sophistry, falsification of facts and concepts, quoting out of context, the cry of a thief "catch the thief," and even concocting rumors. By doing so, we will raise our discriminating power and know how to keep ourselves from being deceived by the guise of revisionism.

To make a penetrating criticism of Teng, it is essential to further study Chairman Mao's important instructions on the criticism of Teng and the struggle against the Right deviationist attempt in the light of the concrete class struggle and struggle between the two lines on various fronts. Teng Hsiao-p'ing is the arch representative of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, and his revisioniist line reflects in a concentrated way the reactionary desire of the bourgeoisie, especially the bourgeoisie inside the Party, to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism in the historical period of socialism. By studying Chairman Mao's instruction that the bourgeoisie is "right in the Communist Party" and his important directive on the socialist education movement and by deepening the criticism of Teng in relation to the concrete struggle, cadres and the masses will be able to acquire a deeper understanding of the class character of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, expose its reactionary and deceitful nature, eliminate its pernicious influence and further raise their own consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle so as to fight the bourgeoisie inside the Party more effectively and promote work in various fields. In the anti-quake and relief struggle, Party organizations at all levels and the cadres and the masses in the stricken area have persistently criticized Teng and made tremendous gains in anti-quake and relief work. In the three-year period when the Chinese economy faced temporary difficulties, didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing try his utmost to spread pessimism and despair in face of natural disasters, and whip up the trends of going it alone and reversing verdicts in a bid to turn the clock backward? But the people in the stricken areas penetratingly criticized his fallacies, further fostered the concept that man will triumph over nature, and unswervingly marched forward along the path of socialism. Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing slander our leading groups as being "soft, lazy and loose"? Didn't he babble that Lei Feng "is dead"? Didn't he declare that "all revolutions rely on material incentives"? Didn't he say that there was no material base for restricting bourgeois rights? Didn't he most maliciously attack the new socialist things? In the anti-quake and relief work, leading cadres at various levels in the stricken area have upheld the Party's basic line, implemented the Party's policies, consciously restricted bourgeois rights, shared the weal and woe with the masses, and fought at the forefront. The masses of people in the stricken area have vigorously carried forward the communist spirit and, in a fearless revolutionary way, performed earth-shaking heroic feats. The PLA men risked their lives to rescue people and their property, and men of the Lei Feng-type can be seen anywhere. The new socialist things that emerged in the great cultural revolution, being tested in great storms and waves, have further displayed their great vitality. The great victories won in the anti-quake and relief work are in themselves a forceful repudiation of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and his reactionary fallacies. The in-depth criticism of Teng has in turn given a powerful impetus to the anti-quake and relief work.

This shows that so long as we persist in taking class struggle as the key link and penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, our cause of socialist revolution and construction assuredly will advance with giant strides, we will make new progress in all fields of work, and we will be invincible in the face of all difficulties.

Apart from taking the lead in studying Chairman Mao's instructions and exposing and criticizing Teng, leading comrades should be good at learning from the masses in the course of criticizing Teng penetratingly. Chairman Mao points out: "The masses are the real heroes" and "very often people at the lower levels can do better than those at the higher and the masses than the leaders." Leading comrades at all levels should stand in the van of the movement, make up their minds to change their way of divorcing themselves from practice, and earnestly learn from the masses and cadres at the lower levels; they should conduct investigations and study at the grassroots, conscientiously sum up and popularize the advanced experience of the masses so as to develop in depth the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the right deviationist attempt.

To make a penetrating criticism of Teng, it is essential to keep firmly to the general orientation of the struggle and unite under this general target more than 95 percent of the cadres and people. Chairman Mao's principle "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient" should be carried out with regard to those comrades who have committed mistakes, and their efforts to correct them should be appreciated. The whole movement should be carried on under the unified leadership of the Party committees at all levels. It is impermissible to set up mountain strongholds, organize fighting groups, or get entangled with old scores and side issues. We must be alert against people with ulterior motives who try to disrupt the criticism of Teng and production by inciting armed struggle. It is necessary to deal heavy blows at the class enemies and suppress their acts of sabotage. Serious efforts should be made to implement Chairman Mao's principle of "grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war," to deepen the mass movements "in industry, learn from Tach'ing" and "in agriculture, learn from Tachai," to increase production and practice economy with still greater revolutionary drive and render concrete support to the people in the earthquake-stricken areas in their struggle against the quake effects and for rehabilitation and improve work in all fields.

* * *

Reactionary Essence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's Going in Again for "Direct and Exclusive Control of Enterprises by the Ministry Concerned

by

Chi P'ing (紀平)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

With the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts developing in depth, the serious crime committed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing in going in again for "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" has been scathingly criticized by the worker-peasant-soldier masses and cadres. In the current upsurge of criticizing the three big poisonous weeds--"On the General Program," "An Outline Report" and "Regulations for Industry"--drawn up on instruction from Teng Hsiao-p'ing, continuing to criticize "direct and exclusive control" advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, expose its reactionary essence and grave harm, dig up its class and ideological roots, and eliminate its pernicious influence constitutes an important aspect of further criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line both ideologically and politically.

Around summer last year, Teng Hsiao-p'ing dished out a reactionary program of "taking the three directives as the key link," pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line, vigorously stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and spread a whole set of revisionist fallacies. Going in again for "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" was one of the many crimes he committed. Before the great cultural revolution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing all along opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and correct policy on encouraging the initiative of both the central government and the localities. He worked hand in glove with Liu Shao-ch'i in pushing the revisionist line and in practicing "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned." During the three years China encountered temporary economic difficulties, he, together with Liu Shao-ch'i, came forward openly to stage a revengeful counter-attack and went in for incorporating enterprises into a trust. The great cultural revolution destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and criticized their revisionist line. It was natural that "direct and exclusive control" was strongly opposed by the revolutionary masses. But Teng Hsiao-p'ing highly resented this, and shortly after he went back to work, he again advocated this tattered revisionist ware of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises." With "ten-fold effort, fanatical zeal and a hundred-fold hatred," he created counter-revolutionary public opinion in a big way for reestablishing "direct and exclusive control of enterprises." He got others to dish up the revisionist-type "regulations for industry" and attacked decentralization of enterprises as causing "chaos." "Many things are left unattended. Production management lags behind, and the development of production is retarded." He shouted loudly about "taking over" this or that. Going to the battle stripped to the waist and wielding the big club of "rectification," he tried to reverse the decisions of the great cultural revolution and strangle the new socialist things. He attempted to exercise "direct and exclusive control of enterprises" through imposition of

these revisionist "regulations" on the Party organizations at various levels and on the broad masses of people. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's purpose in blatantly reversing the decisions of the great cultural revolution, going in again for "direct and exclusive control" and attacking the proletariat is to restore capitalism all-round.

"Direct and exclusive ministerial control of enterprises" is in opposition to the central government and a suppression of the initiative of the localities, manifesting lack of confidence in both the Party and in the masses. The only words that count are those of a few persons who are entitled to exercise this "direct and exclusive control of enterprises." Control of this kind contravenes Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and inevitably becomes an instrument of use to the Party bourgeoisie in pushing the revisionist line and staging a capitalist comeback. It is precisely for this reason that, since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, all chieftains of previous revisionist lines have gone in for "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned." Teng Hsiao-p'ing did the same. Inheriting the mantle of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, he went in again for "direct and exclusive control of enterprises" in a vain attempt to carry his "taking the three directives as the key link" and his counter-revolutionary revisionist line right through to the end, alter the basic line Chairman Mao formulated for our Party and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing want to "take over" this and "control" that? What after all did he want to "turn over" and "control," and how? He wanted to "turn over" the Party, government, financial and cultural powers from the hands of the proletariat to the hands of the capitalist roaders, and to control them under his "taking the three directives as the key link" and counter-revolutionary revisionist line. It is clear that last year in those departments more seriously influenced by Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "direct and exclusive control," the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts blew harder and the capitalist roaders were more blatant in their restorationist activities. Where "taking the three directives as the key link" was pushed harder, there the slavish comprador philosophy was more popular and more frantic effort was made to peddle the theory of productive forces and stir up the "economic typhoon" and "vocational typhoon." At the same time, the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres were pushed aside and attacked, new socialist things were trampled and stifled, people's socialist enthusiasm was suppressed, and revolution and production were undermined. Practice has proved that to promote "direct and exclusive control" is to promote a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is a chain put around the neck of the proletariat and the revolutionary people by the bourgeoisie in the Party.

This kind of control was an important means used by Teng Hsiao-p'ing to propagate the philosophy of servility to things foreign and his surrender and betrayal of the country. Didn't he strongly urge "the introduction of foreign technique and installations" and the "signing of long-term contracts" with foreign countries to be "paid" for with China's mining products, describing this as a "major policy"? Many localities, enterprises and the broad masses of workers actively opposed his policy of capitulation, worship of things foreign and selling out China's natural resources. To overcome this Teng Hsiao-p'ing tried to ram his policies down their throats by using exclusive control from the top. It is definitely not a coincidence that when Teng Hsiao-p'ing

tried to re-assert "direct and exclusive control" last year, a ballyhoo was whipped up for the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace. His idea of "direct and exclusive control" is closely connected with his slavish comprador philosophy. The Party capitalist roaders who want to exercise "direct and exclusive control" fail to see the superior strength of the socialist system and the great power of the masses; they naturally want to cling to foreign bourgeoisie and crawl after them. And under the condition of proletarian dictatorship in our country, the slave comprador philosophy can gain dominance only when the capitalist roaders promote "direct and exclusive control" in opposition to proletarian dictatorship. Both positive and negative experiences tell us: Without a thorough criticism of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned," the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind cannot be liquidated, Chairman Mao's policy of "independence and self-reliance" cannot be implemented nor can the vigorous creativeness of the Chinese proletariat and laboring people be brought into full play.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. Teng Hsiao-p'ing attempted to undermine the economic basis of socialism and to turn the socialist ownership into a capitalist form by reimposing "direct and exclusive control" and his revisionist line. While playing up "centralization and unification," Teng Hsiao-p'ing opposed the centralized, unified leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and that of the local Party committees. He imposed direct control over certain departments, exercised perpendicular leadership over various localities and enterprises, issued orders arbitrarily and made dictatorial decisions. This "direct and exclusive control" did not place reliance on Party line and policy in leading the socialist economy but used the power and resources he took into his hands to exercise dictatorship over the localities and the masses. Their words alone determine what should be developed, what should be closed and where factories should be built. They might draw up whatever "major policy" they liked in a bid to sell out the country's natural resources, state sovereignty and the blood and sweat of the laboring people. If this revisionist line were allowed to succeed, would China have a dictatorship of the proletariat and a socialist economy? And if this revisionist line were allowed to succeed, the capitalist roaders who nominally did not possess the means of production would be able to turn their power of management into the power of actual owners in disposing of the means of production, the socialist ownership by the whole people would be changed into private ownership under the control of the capitalist roaders, which would provide the economic base for the restoration of capitalism and for bourgeois dictatorship. Socialist enterprises would change into bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalist enterprises. Is not the bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalism of Soviet revisionism the result of such a change? The Chinese working class and other laboring people of China, tempered through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, will never permit the tragedy of the Soviet Union turning revisionist to be repeated in China!

Teng Hsiao-p'ing reimposed "direct and exclusive control of enterprises" in the guise of developing production and realizing the "four modernizations." He attacked turning over enterprises to local control during the

great cultural revolution for "retarding production development." It seemed that production would be increased only when "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" was enforced. This was utterly deceptive.

Innumerable facts have repeatedly proved that the practice of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by relevant ministries" would inevitably undermine the socialist relations of production and impede the development of the social productive forces instead of promoting production. Under this practice, each industry or trade would become an independent system and manage its own affairs. The socialist relations of coordination between central authorities and local units, between industries or trades and between enterprises would be transformed, becoming competitive and given to capitalist rivalry and wrangling, without consideration for each other's difficulties and needs. Under this practice, there would be certain small "ministries" within a "ministry" directly interfering with the localities and enterprises. Contradictions would exist not only between various "ministries" but also within a "ministry." This would make it impossible for local units to make overall arrangements for the balanced development of local production and construction. The initiative of local units and people would be seriously fettered and dampened. Socialist coordination would be undermined, the comprehensive utilization of natural resources wrecked, the rational distribution of industry hampered, and economic growth in areas of national minorities impeded. Under this practice, we would only look at the immediate interests to the neglect of long-range interests when drawing up plans or doing things, we would only consider the economic angle and not the political angle, and we would only manage the big enterprises and not the medium and small ones, stress the modern methods and slight the indigenous ones, and stress the service of experts and slight that of the masses. In this way, it would be impossible to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the series of principles and policies for developing the national economy; the national economy could not be developed in a planned and appropriate way in the order of priorities: agriculture, light industry, heavy industry. The simultaneous development of big, medium-sized and small industries and that of local and modern industries could not be insured nor the vigorous mass movement in economic construction be carried out. This would mean that the socialist economy could not be rapidly expanded with little investment. With the practice of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises," to be competitive, the enterprises themselves must put "profit in command" and hand out "material incentives." They must practice the "one-chief system" and "management by experts" and impose "control, check and suppression" over workers, thereby turning the human relationship within the enterprises into a mercenary relationship, one between the oppressor and the oppressed. How can this arouse people's socialist enthusiasm to develop socialist production?

On what do we rely in developing socialist production? We rely not on the revisionist line nor the practice of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises," but on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and under its guidance, continually exert our efforts to solve the problems of the superstructure and the relations of production as well as giving full play to the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses. In 1956, Chairman Mao pointed out in his report "Ten Major Relationships": "It is far better for the

initiative to come from two sources than from only one" and "let the localities undertake more work under unified central planning." Chairman Mao's directive on applying the Party's democratic centralism and the mass line to economic construction charted the course for transforming the system of economic management in China. In it he indicated the importance of continuing the revolution in the relations of production and the superstructure after the basic solution of the question of the means of production. By firmly implementing the basic line and policies laid down by Chairman Mao, all positive factors can be brought into play and the socialist cause advanced at a faster pace and with better results. Since the great cultural revolution, we have criticized the revisionist line and the practice of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" and have given full play to the initiative of both the central and local authorities. This has resulted in the vigorous development of our national economy. Take the tractor production for instance. The monopoly of tractor manufacture by central authorities alone was shattered during the great cultural revolution, and full play was given to the initiative of both the central and local authorities, with the latter given a free hand to make tractors. As a result, the output of tractors over the past 10 years grew by more than five times over pre-great cultural revolution. The output of walking tractors has developed even faster. In the case of coal, with the initiative of local authorities brought into full play, the capacity of new shafts built in the 10 years since the start of the great cultural revolution equalled the sum total of the capacity of shafts completed in the 17 years prior to the cultural revolution. The Chinshan project in Shanghai and the Hsinkang project in Talien were completed with huge achievements due to large-scale cooperation among all trades and industries under the unified leadership of local Party committees and working in diametrical opposition to "direct and exclusive control." Many of such facts show that the practice of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises" will surely produce fewer, slower, poorer and more costly results, while giving play to the initiative of both the central and local authorities will produce greater, faster, better and more economical results.

The basic reason why "direct and exclusive control" has appeared time and again in the socialist period is that the bourgeoisie "is right in the Communist Party" and "capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." As capitalist roaders in the Party like Teng Hsiao-p'ing have all along treasured it and relied on it to push the revisionist line, its danger and pernicious influence should not be under-estimated. Of course, criticizing "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" does not mean writing off "ministries" or negating the functions of departments. It means implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and giving fuller play to the initiative of both the central and local authorities under the central unified planning. We must continue our conscientious study of Chairman Mao's many important instructions on criticizing Teng and repulsing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and deepen criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line ideologically and politically. We must thoroughly criticize and fully repudiate "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned." We must take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line and persist in the revolution in the superstructure and in the relations of production. We must continue our efforts to reform the system of economic management and give full play to the socialist enthusiasm of the masses in order to promote the rapid development of socialist production.

* * *

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's Revisionist Line and the Doctrines of Confucius and Mencius

by

Liang Hsiao (梁效)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

In the struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, the great leader Chairman Mao has again taught us to criticize Confucius. This instruction is of vital importance. In the old China the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius predominated for so long that they exerted a profound influence on reactionary ideas of every description. The history of the struggle between the two lines within the Party in the past half a century and more tells us that all chieftains of the revisionist line revered Confucius, their ideological system being fully in accord with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, which served as a reactionary ideological weapon for pushing their opportunist and revisionist lines. The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i betrayed his veneration of Confucius by his obsession with the Four Books and his devotion to peddling the Confucian "classics" in his sinister book How To Be A Good Communist. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao wrote reactionary scrolls reading: "Of all things, this is the most important: to restrain oneself and return to propriety." In flagrantly using Confucius' "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" as a political program to restore capitalism, Lin Piao was an out-and-out devotee of Confucius and Mencius. After resuming work, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing, awed by the power of the mass movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, dared not openly unfurl the ensign of revering Confucius, but his rabid and hideous preoccupation with restoration and regression revealed what he was--a Confucius worshipper in all his hideousness. As long as we penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line of "taking the three directives as the key link" and going in for "rectification" in relation to the criticism of Confucius, we can clearly perceive from the plane of the ideological system that Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line is permeated with the poison of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and haunted by the specter of Confucius.

Lenin pointed out: "Class struggle, the struggle by the exploited section against the exploiting section among people, is the basis of political change and will ultimately decide the fate of all political changes." ("Preface to 'Report by the Chief of the Police Department Ropushin(洛普兴)'," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. 8, p. 176) It is exactly this kind of class struggle that propels the history of society forward. All revolutionary people invariably support big social changes and actively participate in the class struggle against the decadent classes, while the restorationists moving backward do just the opposite. Although the age of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and that of Confucius are more than two thousand years apart, both were turning points in Chinese history marked by great social upheavals. As ancient and modern restorationists, they have different historical and class backgrounds; nevertheless, their common aim is to oppose social reforms in every possible way and oppose the class struggle carried out by the revolutionary people, vainly trying to alter the general trend of historical development replacing the old system with a new one. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "taking the three directives

as the key link" and Confucius' "self-restraint and return to propriety" thus exemplify the political programs to restore the old order in two different periods.

Confucius' "self-restraint and return to propriety," a product of the reactionary slave-owning class opposing the advanced system of feudalism at the end of the Spring and Autumn period, focuses the reactionary stand and wishes of the slave-owning class in opposing great social changes. This program was aimed at restoring the utterly reactionary slave system. Confucius wanted people "not to look at what is inappropriate, not to listen to what is inappropriate, not to say words that are inappropriate, and not to behave against the rules of propriety." (Confucian Analects--Yen Yüan) This boils down to opposing the class struggle carried out by the slave class and the newly emerging landlord class to overthrow slavery.

The revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," dished out by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, is a program to counter the socialist revolution and restore capitalism. As Chairman Mao points out: "What 'taking the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." Teng Hsiao-p'ing wants to nullify the key link of the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie and this means nullification of the entire substance of the socialist revolution. Confucius did not forget "return to propriety" while Teng Hsiao-p'ing has not forgotten restoring capitalism. Both tried to roll the wheel of history back to allow the utterly decadent, reactionary and declining classes to restore themselves.

Chairman Mao points out: "What is the great cultural revolution for? To wage class struggle." Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "taking the three directives as the key link" is directly aimed at opposing the great proletarian cultural revolution. Its principal content is characterized by settling old scores with and reversing the decisions of the great cultural revolution. The great proletarian cultural revolution smashed the two bourgeois headquarters commanded by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and spurred the development of history, thereby making it possible for our country to undergo profound changes from the superstructure to the economic base according to the socialist orientation. Lenin pointed out: "The deeper the revolution digs into the old foundations, the more difficult it will be for the old order to restore itself." ("The Land Program of the Social-democratic Party in the First Russian Revolution," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. 13, p. 304) The great proletarian cultural revolution is of immense importance to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevention of capitalist restoration and building socialism. That is why Teng Hsiao-p'ing as the chief representative of the restorationist forces bitterly resents the great cultural revolution, referring to it, in his own words, as "irreconcilable hostility." Raving about like Confucius did against slave uprisings and the reforms introduced by the newly emerging landlord class, he is rabidly opposed to the great proletarian cultural revolution, trying desperately to write it off at one stroke and devour the revolutionary new forces at one gulp. This fully reveals that he is a Confucius-type restoration manic opposed to great social changes. In former years, wherever Confucius, carrying the tattered banner of "self-restraint and return to propriety," appeared, there the wind to restore the old order was whipped up. After Teng Hsiao-p'ing dished out "taking the three directives as the key link," the evil wind to reverse verdicts was on the rise, the

restorationist activities spread unchecked, the fruitful gains of the great cultural revolution were negated and the socialist new things nipped in the bud. The bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party began to launch unbridled counter-attacks on the proletariat. Objective facts of class struggle expose Teng Hsiao-p'ing's fraud. He concocts "taking the three directives as the key link" and preaches the fallacy of the dying out of class struggle for the explicit purpose of extinguishing the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and proletarian all-round dictatorship. As regards the bourgeoisie's frenzied attack on the proletariat, counter-attacking in retaliation, it is, in his view, the fiercer the better, even "blowing a 12-grade typhoon" not considered excessive.

All restorationists are opposed to major social upheavals, their distinct common characteristic being preservation of decadent old things and opposition to revolutionary new things. Confucius himself was the venerable master for preaching the idea that "the present is not as good as the past." He described the old institutions as "complete" and "elegant" and lauded the ancient times to the skies. In Confucius' eyes, the old imperial almanac of the Hsia dynasty, the old chariots of the Shang period and the worn ceremonial hats of Western Chou were all perfect. Mencius went further, saying: "The five chiefs of the princes were sinners against the three kings. The princes of the present day are sinners against the five chiefs. The great officers of the present day are sinners against the princes." (The Works of Mencius: Kao Tzu) Both regarded the present generation as inferior to the preceding one, vilifying the great social upheaval of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods as "the rites were lost and music was ruined" and the excellent situation with the new things emerging as "morality is on the wane." They went all out to call for "following the old institutions." The devotees of Confucius and Mencius in succeeding generations all clung to the old practices and followed the old routine. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, being one of them, preaches the notion that "the present is not as good as the past" and "new things are not as good as old things" as Confucius did. The series of new things that have appeared in the revolution in education means nothing to him as he is solely concerned with the "crisis" before his eyes. To him, the revolutionary model stage productions exemplifying the flourishing revolution in literature and art merely convey the idea of "the blooming of a single flower," implying that they are far inferior to the "old operas" that "have been staged for so many years." He "does not recognize" those new cadres recruited and promoted from among the workers, peasants and soldiers on the ground that they "come up in a helicopter." In a word, all the new things that have appeared since the great cultural revolution are altogether unacceptable to Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who regards them as a terrible mess, like "longstanding habits that are difficult to break." From Confucius-Mencius' "the lost rites and ruined music" and "declining morality and principles" to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "longstanding habits that are difficult to break," the keynote is the same. It is determined by their common nature of counter-revolutionary classes.

Clinging to this reactionary stand, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, following in the footsteps of Confucius, put forward what is called "rectification." This is no different from Confucius' call for "rectification of names," a reactionary political proposal aimed at pursuing the line of restoration and regression and nipping the new things in the bud.

Confucius' "rectification of names" was governed by one standard, that is, the Chou rites. According to this standard, the newly emerging feudal system meant "if the titles are not correct, words will not carry weight" (Analects, Tzu Lu), and by this standard even the pattern of new wine cups was wrong. Consequently, everything had to conform to the rigid conventions prescribed by the Chou rites that had already become outdated. Once Confucius came to power in the state of Lu, he brandished the stick of "rectification of names" and did away with anything that did not conform to the Chou rites. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "rectification" also follows a standard set by his counter-revolutionary revisionist line. "On the General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Country," concocted at his bidding, admits that "rectification of work in various spheres" must be based on his revisionist program. If this standard were used to measure all the new things that appeared since the great proletarian cultural revolution, they would all be "improper in title and carry no weight." Therefore, Teng Hsiao-p'ing raved: "The Party's style of work has gone awry in all these years," "Uncle Lei Feng is no longer around," "College students look far from being college students," and so forth. Looking around with dismay, he called for "rectification" of the Party, the army, industry, agriculture, culture and education, science and technology, in fact everything. Harboring counter-revolutionary bitterness and brandishing the stick of "rectification" he went in for rabid class revenge to hit hard at the revolutionary new forces, vainly trying to do away with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, the superiority of the socialist system and all the new things that have appeared since the great proletarian cultural revolution. Compared with Confucius who killed Shao Cheng Mao and destroyed the walls of three cities, Teng Hsiao-p'ing may be said to have done even "better."

Confucius' "rectification of names" was aimed, in a reactionary sense, at upholding the gradation concept of the slave system, which served as a main prop of China's slave society. The reason why Confucius bitterly resented the new things is that these things undermined the slave system's gradation principle such as "the relations between kings and ministers and between fathers and sons." (Analects: Yen Yüan) Therefore, he looked with disfavor at any attempt that violated this gradation concept. As the socialist new things serve as criticism of the bourgeoisie and revisionism, to restrict and criticise bourgeois rights and the idea of bourgeois rights, they are bound to be frenziedly resisted by the bourgeoisie in the Party. Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his gang oppose the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. They are against the workers, peasants and soldiers going to college and against college graduates becoming again workers, peasants and soldiers. They are also against worker participation in enterprise management and against building contingents of worker-theorists, and all this is aimed at opposing the restriction of bourgeois rights in various spheres. The germination of communist elements in these new things fully expresses the historical status of the masses of people as masters. It deals a crushing blow at the restorationist activities of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and arouses the bitter hostility of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, a representative of the bourgeoisie in the Party. His hostility toward the new things is, in terms of mood and sentiment, no different from the savings uttered by Confucius when he saw "eight rows of dancers dancing in the court" and cried "this is intolerable." (Analects: Pa I) What a coincidence!

Vigorously preaching the reactionary idealist conception of history and obliterating the laboring people's great contribution to history characterizes all restorationists. The Confucians preached the reactionary idealist conception of history in the service of the reactionary political line of "self-restraint and return to propriety." The reactionary preachings of both Confucius and Mencius, such as "The highest are wise and the lowest the stupid; this cannot be altered" (Analects, Yang Huo) and "Those who labor with their brains govern others; those who labor with their strength are governed by others" (The Works of Mencius, T'eng Wen Kung Part I), were intended to prove that the rule of the slave owners and the status of the slaves as the ruled are logical and unalterable. "The lowly are the cleverest and the noble the most stupid" is the great truth of the materialist conception of history. The laboring people in their hundreds of millions have today become the masters of our country, demonstrating their wisdom and strength in the cause of socialist revolution and construction, displaying immense revolutionary enthusiasm and making important contributions. Clinging to the idealist conception of history embodied in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, the revisionist "high official" Teng Hsiao-p'ing not only ignores the strength of the masses but is hostile toward the worker-peasant-soldier masses. Ranting "relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative," he does everything possible to applaud a handful of unrepentant capitalist roaders that have been criticized by the masses of the people, looking upon them as a decisive force in social development. All these perverted acts, committed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing under the sway of the idealist conception of history, are aimed at suppressing the laboring people and restoring the dictatorship of the landlord and bourgeois classes.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary idealist conception of history also finds expression in his approach to the question of the relations between man and nature. He does his utmost to spread pessimist views regarding man's ability in the face of natural disasters. During the three-year period in which the national economy encountered temporary difficulties, Teng Hsiao-p'ing was apprehensive and became panicky as if the vast land of China would subside and the earth go to ruins. He alleged that the economy in our country "is bad," being "in a state of semi-paralysis." He declared it would take "more than one or two years" to surmount the difficulties. He also dished out his notorious "cat versus mice theory" and said, "it doesn't matter if a cat is black or white so long as it catches mice." He did so to viciously attack the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune, stirring up a gust of wind to reverse verdicts in a big way. In the face of difficulties, Teng Hsiao-p'ing fails to see the superiority of the socialist system and the role played by the masses of the people and therefore he is at a loss to summon the strength and forces for changing nature and overcoming natural disasters. This shows that the revisionists are capitulationists in class struggle and in the struggle against nature. In spreading the anti-Marxist viewpoint on the question of the relations between man and nature, Teng Hsiao-p'ing intends to meet the needs of restoration.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's pessimist outlook is related to the Confucian belief in the mandate of Heaven. Confucius regards "t'ien" /Heaven/ as possessing a will, omnipotent and in control of everything in nature and in man's world--such as order or upheaval in society and individual's weal or woe. The crucial point of this mandate of Heaven thesis is to give prominence

to the supernatural and deprecate the people. On the relationship between man and nature, the mandate of Heaven rejects the role of the laboring people in changing nature. On this fundamental question Teng Hsiao-p'ing's pessimism is consistent with Confucius' mandate of Heaven theory.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be performed." ("The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History") The proletarians are revolutionary optimists. This revolutionary optimism is built on the basis of the materialist conception of history, placing unbounded faith in the laboring people's creativity. The masses of the people are the real heroes. We firmly believe in the great Marxist truth that man will triumph over nature. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we struggle against nature, class enemies and natural disasters. We have withstood the pressure of revisionism and overcome three years of natural calamities precisely by relying on the strength of the masses of the people. With this source of strength, we have reclaimed mountains and harnessed rivers, gradually transforming the inhospitable natural surroundings. In the present anti-quake and relief battle, the broad masses and cadres in the stricken areas, under the Party's leadership, disbelieving in the mandate of Heaven and what it stands for, and displaying the dauntless tough bone spirit of fearing nothing, have triumphed over the serious natural calamities brought on by the earthquakes. The display of this heroic mettle and creation of a wonder in the history of anti-quake battles have given a forceful rebuttal to Confucius' Heavenly mandate theory and Teng Hsiao-p'ing's pessimism.

The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius serve as an important ideological basis of opportunism and revisionism. In leading the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has always combined the reckoning of opportunism and revisionism with the criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. For the vast numbers of cadres and the masses, this is universal Marxist education. In the struggle to smash the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, we combined the criticism of Lin Piao with that of Confucius and this contributed significantly to our recognition of the ultra-Right essence of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and elimination of its pernicious influence. In the present deepening of the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, indeed an excellent situation, the vast numbers of cadres and the masses throughout the country are concentrating their firepower on the criticism of the three very poisonous weeds concocted at Teng Hsiao-p'ing's bidding, "On the General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Country," "Several Problems Concerning Scientific and Technological Work," and "Some Problems on Accelerating Industrial Development." These three very poisonous weeds emit the stinking odor of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Our continued effort to criticize Confucius in accord with Chairman Mao's teachings is conducive to our penetrating exposure and criticism of the ultra-Right substance of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line.

Repudiating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius is a long-term fighting task throughout the historical period of socialism. As long as the capitalist roaders are on the capitalist road, the proletariat must not stop criticizing the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. History will testify that the extinction of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as the spiritual prop of the bourgeoisie in the Party, is as certain and unavoidable as that of the inner-Party bourgeoisie itself.

* * *

Refute "Productive Power Is a Science"

by

Cheng K'ai (郑凯)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

Around summer last year, Teng Hsiao-p'ing dished out a revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link." At the same time, poking his sinister nose into the scientific and technological circles, he ordered the production of "an outline report" and vigorously stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. Instantly, all kinds of absurdities were in the air. In these circumstances, such fallacies as "productive power is a science" and "productive power is primarily a science" were released, stamped with the brand of Teng's rumor-mongering mill. Teng Hsiao-p'ing said: "The productive power is a science, and it is highly necessary for us to have a comprehensive understanding in these respects." Why did this big Party tyrant, who does not read books nor newspapers and has no learning at all, suddenly talk about "theory"? There is nothing strange about this. He merely resorted to the habitual tricks used by all revisionists to oppose Marxism, waved a red flag to oppose the red flag, and wanted to give his revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" a coat of theoretical paint and dress up revisionism as Marxism.

Marxism holds that the productive power is people's ability to transform and conquer nature. Without people, it is idle to talk about conquering nature or about productive power. To be sure, to change nature, people must have fools. But whether it is manual tools or complicated machines, they are an extension of man's organs, created by man after experience in production struggle has been accumulated. Without people to operate them, they are merely a pile of dead things. So Marx pointed out: "The greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself." ("The Poverty of Philosophy," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. I, p. 160) Lenin also said: "The primary productive power of mankind is the worker, the laborer." ("Deception of the People with Slogans of Liberty and Equality," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 843) We don't deny that science applied to production plays an enormous role in developing the productive power. But it has never been the decisive factor of the productive power, and we must not arrive at the preposterous conclusion that "productive power is a science" or "productive power is primarily a science." Whatever the level of scientific development, laborers are always the main body of production practice, always the creators of science and technology. Without the production practice of the laboring people, science and technology would be like a river without a source or a trees without roots. The fact that Teng Hsiao-p'ing advertised "productive power is a science" and willfully altered the correct Marxist viewpoint that man is the decisive factor of productive power fully exposes his features as a renegade from Marxism.

Chairman Mao points out: "When the people overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, many were not clear as to which way China should head--toward capitalism or toward socialism. Facts have now provided the answer: only socialism can save China. The socialist system has promoted the rapid development of the productive forces of our country; this is a fact even our enemies abroad have had to acknowledge." ("On the

Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") But the restorationist Teng Hsiao-p'ing has denied what even our enemies abroad cannot deny, the fact that the socialist system has promoted the development of the productive forces. By so doing he has also obliterated the tremendous creative power of the working people under the socialist system, bent as he is on restoring capitalism. According to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's logic, inasmuch as "productive power is a science," the development of productive forces can depend on scientific research alone. Who is to undertake scientific research? He holds that the workers, peasants and soldiers, whose cultural level is too low, are not qualified to do it, and the Party, being "an outsider" and "lacking in enthusiasm," also cannot lead scientific research. For this reason, he wants th Party to hand over the leadership to the bourgeoisie, to rely on those bourgeois "experts" and "authorities," to take the capitalist road of "management of institutes by experts" and "administration of the state by experts." In reality, he attempted to allow the bourgeoisie to continue its dictatorship over us.

Inasmuch as "productive power is a science," proletarian politics in command, class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat can all be written off. Thus, he openly advocated "putting technology in command," took the "white and expert road" and stirred up the "vocational typhoon." Actually, is there technology separated from politics? In advocating "putting technology in command" and "the white and expert road," Teng Hsiao-p'ing precisely substituted bourgeois politics for proletarian politics, and vainly attempted to lead scientific and technological work to the evil capitalist road.

Since "productive power is a science," this means relying on whoever has science and technology, making no distinction between Marxism and imperialism. In the eyes of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, imperialism and social-imperialism have a high level of productive forces and advanced science and technology, and so he wanted to import foreign technology and copy from foreign countries in doing everything, pinning the future of China's scientific and technological development entirely on foreigners and desperately advocating the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of crawling behind at a snail's pace. If we follow his bureaucrat comprador bourgeois ideas, we will only turn our country into a dependency of imperialism and social-imperialism.

"Productive power is a science" as advertised by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is nothing but a variant of the long bankrupt theory of productive forces espoused by new and old revisionists. The latter vainly attempted to block the tide of proletarian revolution by negating the reaction of the relations of production on the productive forces and of the superstructure on the economic base. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, all along a believer in this theory of productive forces, has now merely changed it in form. He not only denies the reaction of the relations of production on the superstructure, but even writes off the role of man, leaving behind nothing but a science, which is omnipotent.

This fallacy peddled by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is also an old tune sung by the Western bourgeoisie and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, who clamored that "science is supreme" and "technology is decisive." As early as the 1950's, the American monopoly bourgeoisie dished out a declaration

"for a new century of automation," stating that automation "is the magic key to creating value." In recent years, some people made the absurd claim that in the future computers would not only replace the role of man but "eventually will inherit the universe." Echoing this, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique cried aloud that scientific and technological progress is of "decisive significance" and even "an ally of communism." This is a decadent ideology of imperialism and social-imperialism, designed to benumb the revolutionary fighting will of the proletariat, uphold the role of reactionary classes and save the capitalist system from doom in a situation in which the contradictions of imperialism are daily sharpening and the revolutionary situation keeps developing. But these things have become Teng Hsiao-p'ing's diamonds. Doesn't one see clearly his purpose in advocating "productive power is a science"?

It must be emphasized here that Marx never referred to "productive power as a science." Its attribution to Marx is a sheer fabrication on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's part. That passage in Marx' "Outline Critique (Draft) of Political Economy" which Teng Hsiao-p'ing and capitalist roaders like him take as the basis, not only does not help them, but, on the contrary, exposes their despicable tricks to swindle people. The text of that passage reads: "Finally: in fixed capital, the social productive power of labor manifests itself as an inherent attribute of capital; it includes not only the scientific force but also a combination of social forces in the process of production, and ultimately includes the skill of switching direct labor to the machine, i.e., the dead productive force." (The translation has been revised.) Marx made these remarks while analyzing the process of circulation of capital. Instead of giving productive power a definition, his analysis of social productive power embodied in fixed capital profoundly reveals the exploitative nature of capitalism and its inevitable doom. Under the capitalist system, the capitalist owns all means of production, and the laborer is a wage slave who has nothing. Under such relations of exploitation, the growth of labor productivity caused by the application of science to production, cooperation and division of work and the use of machines, is due to the effort of the working class, but is made to manifest itself as the productive force of capital, mainly the productive force of fixed capital. Such a reversal of right and wrong is a phenomenon peculiar to capitalism. The fact that Teng Hsiao-p'ing twists Marx's original meaning, quotes him out of context, and alleges that "productive power is a science" shows how reckless he has become in creating public opinion in favor of capitalist restoration.

The experience of class struggle tells us that in restoring capitalism, the commanders of the bourgeoisie in the Party invariably wave a Marxist banner to oppose Marxism. But, the revolutionary people who have mastered the Marxist microscope and telescope are able to see through their reactionary nature. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's ugly concoction of "productive power is a science" is another record of his failure.

* * *

Persist in Fighting Capitalist Roaders

by

Worker Commentators Group of Wuchou Municipal
Match Plant, Kwangsi

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

In "Some Problems on Accelerating Industrial Development" concocted on his instruction, the arch unrepentant Party capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing maliciously attacks and curses the large numbers of revolutionary young fighters and young cadres that emerged in the great proletarian cultural revolution, describing them as "unreformed petty intellectuals and 'brave elements'" and levelling many trump-up charges against them.

Chairman Mao says: "There is neither love without cause nor hatred without cause in the world." Teng Hsiao-p'ing's denunciation of the revolutionary young fighters and young cadres has a deep class origin. Capitalist roaders like Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who represent the interests of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, are the target of struggle and revolution in the period of socialist revolution. The main object of the great cultural revolution is to purge this type of capitalist roaders. So, how can they not bear a grudge against those "brave elements" who charged to the front during the great proletarian cultural revolution? In this revolution, large batches of originally unknown revolutionary youngsters became brave pacesetters. Some who made faster progress joined the leading groups combining the old, the middle-aged and the young. Uniting with revolutionary old and middle-aged cadres, they dare to work in opposition to the revisionist line, and have become "very dangerous" people to Teng Hsiao-p'ing in pushing the revisionist line and practicing restoration and regression. That is why after he resumed work, Teng Hsiao-p'ing just couldn't wait to attack and curse them, taking them as a thorn in the flesh, and he would not be happy until he could get rid of them.

"Gesticulating and doing nothing but purging people." This is a charge made by capitalist roaders like Teng Hsiao-p'ing against these "brave elements." This is a sheer case of calling black white and confusing right with wrong. Our revolutionary young fighters and young cadres do not want to "purge" all people; they want only to purge those capitalist roaders within the Party and class enemies in society. Instead of purging proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses of cadres and people, they warmly unite and fight shoulder to shoulder with them. Those who really gesticulate and insist on purging the proletariat and the revolutionary people are the capitalist roaders like Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing gang up with Liu Shao-ch'i in vigorously pushing the policy of "hitting at the many and protecting a few"? The revolutionary young fighters and young cadres who have grown up in the great cultural revolution consciously take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, talk about class struggle every day, and bravely struggle against capitalist roaders within the Party like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. This shows that they have a high degree of consciousness of class struggle and line struggle; it indicates that there are successors to the cause of our Party. What an excellent thing!

A high degree of consciousness and brave spirit in fighting the capitalist roaders is highly essential to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a life-and-death battle between two classes. In the course of this major battle, the proletariat cannot show any hesitancy, fear and retreat, and instead must firmly stand on the side of the majority. Instead of submitting to the threat, inducement and slander by capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, they must fight them to the finish. Otherwise, their restorationist plot would succeed, the dictatorship of the proletariat would turn into a fascist dictatorship, and the proletariat would be so purged by the capitalist roaders that millions of heads would roll to the ground. In our protracted struggle against the capitalist-roaders in the future, there is a special need for a large number of comrades who are capable of doggedly adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, are sure of the victory of the proletarian revolutionary cause, dare to rebel against the reactionary classes, dare to oppose the revisionist tide, remain highly vigilant against the various conspiracies of the bourgeoisie to rebel against the proletariat, possess the foresight and drive of proletarian revolutionaries, and at the same time pay attention to winning over and uniting all people who can be united with. The proletarian cultural revolution has precisely produced a number of such people, who have grown sturdily in the struggle against capitalist roaders and demonstrated a strong vitality.

The old, middle-aged and young cadres adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, including young cadres who have grown up in the great cultural revolution, have become brave warriors in the fight against capitalist roaders because they have grasped the Marxist laws of social development and are firmly convinced that the socialist system will ultimately supersede the capitalist system and that truth is on their side. The great practice of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has enabled many revolutionary young fighters and young cadres to see the importance of Marxist theory, study it hard, conduct propaganda on it and safeguard Marxism courageously. This is a characteristic of these young cadres who have taken up leadership posts; it is also a strong point of these young cadres. In various fields of endeavor they stick to Marxist principles and are determined to gradually create the conditions making it impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. This is indeed a "great danger" to the capitalist roaders within the Party, and arouses their consternation and hatred. In the "Regulations," Teng Hsiao-p'ing blasted the young cadres who stick to fundamental Marxist principles for "only singing a high tune and doing nothing practical." This has exactly exposed his hideous features of opposing Marxism.

Revolutionary young fighters and young cadres who have grown up, nurtured by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, are mindful of transforming their own world outlook. "In the course of building a socialist society, everyone needs remolding." This is true also of young cadres. They fight against the capitalist roaders' revisionist line, threat, inducement and deception, against the non-proletarian ideas in their own heads, and against the erroneous trends within the revolutionary ranks. In the course of these struggles, they

continue to transform their own world outlook. The devious fighting course of the last ten years, and the lessons learned from mistakes committed by some old and young cadres, have enabled many people to raise their consciousness of ideological remolding. Those who really "have not been reformed" are unrepentant capitalist roaders like Teng Hsiao-p'ing," whose heads are made of granite and who vehemently resist the transformation of the world by the masses of people according to the proletarian world outlook and especially hate all mass movements that help them toward ideological transformation. Please look at the facts: Many revolutionary young people are resolutely carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, criticizing revisionism and building socialism with no effort spared. From among them have emerged large numbers of model figures consciously restricting bourgeois rights. To narrow the gaps between town and country, some head for the rural or border areas. To serve the overwhelming majority of people in China and the world, some work selflessly and for the public interest, displaying the lofty communist spirit. Like the old cadres, many young cadres battling in the earthquake stricken areas fear neither hardship nor death. Enduring their own pain and ignoring the safety of their families, they think of the masses first and go to places most heavily devastated by the quake. The three-in-one leading groups combining the old, the middle-aged and the young have been tested; they have not been smashed by the intrigues and tricks of class enemies nor shaken by the quake. W th their own heroic, practical action, they lead the masses in anti-quake and relief work, overcoming the difficulties, winning victories, and writing song after song in praise of the triumph of revolutionary heroism. But what did Teng Hsiao-p'ing advocate in stirring up the Right deviationist verdict-reversal wind? Still material incentives, profit in command, the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces; in short, still the theme of "white cat, black cat." He remained virtually "unreformed."

Teng Hsiao-p'ing venomously attacked the revolutionary young fighters and young cadres for the purpose of using those unrepentant capitalist roaders to wrest power from the proletariat in a vain attempt to alter Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Didn't the "Regulations," concocted on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's instructions, clearly call for, through "rectification," "adjusting those leading groups with unreformed petty intellectuals and 'brave elements' in power"? What a voluntary self-confession. He had no need for those old, middle-aged and young cadres adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He also opposed Chairman Mao's consistent policy of uniting with 95 percent of the cadres and masses. He wanted to "first, criticize, second, dismiss, and third, transfer" all those who refused to follow or approve the revisionist line. He wanted to expel them from leading groups at all levels. What he wanted were those "home-coming contingents" made up of people who "make up their minds" and "are not afraid of being struck down the second time" so as to re-usurp the Party and state leadership at all levels. He incited those desperadoes trying to reverse verdicts and restore the old order to create the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square in an open trial of strength with the proletariat, in a vain attempt to restore caitalism. However, in the face of the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat, Teng Hsiao-p'ing's pipe-dream of restoration failed to come through.

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the proletariat and the revolutionary people have since the great cultural revolution fought heroically against the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and won great victories. But the struggle has not ended, and there is need for us to continue to exert our efforts along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We are deeply convinced that the ultimate victory will surely belong to the brave revolutionary people armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

* * *

Criticism of Teng Has Promoted Production

by

Party Committee of Shanghai Turbine Plant

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

In the great struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, both the cadres and masses in our plant have seriously studied a series of Chairman Mao's important directives and criticized the sinister "Regulations" for restoring capitalism on the industrial front as concocted on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's instruction. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has taken deeper root in people's hearts. Full of zeal and spirit, the worker masses have loudly raised the fighting slogan, "study theory, penetratingly criticize Teng, oppose him, and fight to the finish." The cadres have also further raised their understanding about wholeheartedly relying on the worker masses to run the enterprise well; one after another they have headed for the first line of production to practice three togetherness with the worker masses. This has cemented the ties between the cadres and the masses and promoted the development of revolution and production. Since the beginning of this year, our plant has fulfilled its production plan every month. Its output from J nuary to August rose by 5.2 percent over the corresponding period last year; in this connection, the output of turbines rose by 35.7 percent. Technical innovation activities among the rank and file have also developed with vigor; up to the present, over 260 relatively significant innovation proposals have been implemented. Both the cadres and masses say with deep feeling: "Deepen the criticism of criticism step by step, and you increase production every day."

The penetrating criticism of Teng has served to raise the consciousness of the masses in persistently continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as considerably arousing their socialist enthusiasm. The revisionist line pushed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is a continuation of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. The workers bear an intense class hatred against this revisionist line that represents the bourgeoisie. Therefore, once the great struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts started, an upsurge was quickly whipped up in our plant, where everyone took an active part. In a short period of several months, the plant held more than 140 study classes of various types, convened more than 400 large and small criticism and denunciation meetings, and produced more than 2,000 critical articles, criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line from all angles. Said the workers: "Teng Hsiao-p'ing's advocacy of 'taking the three directives as the key link' and his negation that the main contradiction on the industrial front is one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the 'Regulations' are motivated by a desire to alter the socialist orientation for industrial development and cause our socialist enterprise to change color. To criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, we must take class struggle as the key link, scathingly criticize revisionism and capitalism, build socialism in a big way, and work in opposition

to Teng Hsiao-p'ing!" Driven by the struggle to criticize Teng, the socialist enthusiasm of the masses has soared to unprecedented heights. Everywhere effort is made to grasp revolution and promote production. Many workshops and units are determined to overfulfill state plans ahead of schedule. The tools workshop is an important technical service workshop of the plant. To insure that other workshops can overfulfill their plans ahead of schedule, it proposed to "fulfill its yearly plan six months ahead of schedule." But in June, a unit had its manpower reduced, and the volume of work exceeded its production capacity by more than 100 percent. It thus became a weak part of the workshop. At first, the cadres and the planners of the workshop, after doing some arithmetic, felt that it was impossible to complete the task. So, they turned to the masses for advice, explaining to the latter about the facts and difficulties. The workers said: "You've taken into account the equipment, working hours and the mass enthusiasm generated since the great cultural revolution. But you haven't taken into account our much greater energy and strength released in the struggle to criticize Teng!" On their own initiative, they joined the cadres in making plans and setting measures. Moreover, they successively held five meetings to criticize the fallacy peddled by Teng Hsiao-p'ing in the "Regulations" when he said that "the system of responsibility is the core of the enterprise's rules and regulations." They commented: "The system of responsibility advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is aimed at binding us workers hand and foot, robbing us of the status as masters and preventing our enthusiasm from being fully developed." Working in opposition to Teng Hsiao-p'ing, they did away with the old practice of fixing workers and machine tools and carried forward the communist style of "dividing the work but not the family as all are masters." They went where they were needed, and gave priority to key products. In 1,397 hours they completed a volume of work that in ordinary times would consume 2,845 hours. Thus the workshop was able to fulfill its plan for the whole year six months ahead of schedule. This vivid fact taught us to further realize that the revisionist enterprise-building line pushed by Teng Hsiaop'ing in the "Regulations" represents the interests of the bourgeoisie, disrupts and disintegrates the socialist economic foundation and superstructure, and poses a serious obstacle to the development of the socialist productive forces. "There is no construction without destruction." Only by unfolding revolutionary mass criticism of this revisionist line can we give the fullest play to the socialist enthusiasm of the masses and push the development of revolution and production forward.

Penetrating criticism of Teng has further cemented the ties between cadres and the masses and perfected the socialist relations of production. Every kind of production proceeds under given relations of production. Only by penetratingly and thoroughly criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line that undermines the socialist relations of production and putting the line in proper perspective is it possible to continuously perfect the socialist relations of production. Since the great cultural revolution, criticizng the revisionist line has greatly improved the relations between the cadres and the masses. But due to the existence of the influence of the revisionist line, there are some cadres who do not understand sufficiently the great significance of improving the mutual relations, and some are so accustomed to issuing orders

from their offices that they seldom practice three togetherness with the workers. When they participate in collective productive labor, most work only one day per week. After the publication of Chairman Mao's important directive on socialist education, we held a cadres study class for the whole plant to seriously study Chairman Mao's directive and criticize the crime of willfully emasculating and altering Chairman Mao's directive in the "Regulations." It was seen that Teng Hsiao-p'ing in the "Regulations" deleted that part of Chairman Mao's directive that dealt with the practice of three togetherness and the sharp antagonism between the bureaucrat class and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants. This is because he himself is a member of the bureaucrat class, that is, the bourgeoisie within the Party. Teng Hsiao-p'ing wanted to use such tricks to lure the cadres and the managerial staff to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights and take a stand opposite to that of the worker masses. Everyone pledged that, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, they would devote their lives to practicing three togetherness and following the road of integrating with the workers. The leading members of the Party committee and the cadres go to the workshops to practice three togetherness with the workers and join them in criticizing Teng and doing heavy jobs under high temperatures. They are welcomed by the masses. As the managerial staff work and carry out investigation and study at the same time, directing production and solving problems on the spot as well as consulting the masses, many problems have quickly been solved. In the past some technicians stressed the system of individual responsibility, with each clinging to his job; they emphasized technical supervision and restrained each other. Now they have organized production service teams, advanced tools popularization teams and technical problem-solving groups to integrate with the worker masses. This has promoted the development of technical and managerial work. The welding of the turbine rotor is a very exacting technical process. Together with the worker masses, the technicians have successively worked out scores of technical innovations including electric automatic control installation and filler argon arc automatic welding. This enabled the welding technology and quality to reach the advanced international level. An advanced cutting tool which does not require a second grinding was not quickly popularized in the past. After the technicians went to the shop floor and joined the workers in searching for the cause and summing up the experiences, the use of this advanced cutting tool was extended from 24 percent to 62 percent of the floor space of the plant.

We realize that to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and eliminate its pernicious influence is a long-term combat task and that we must never take "a breather" or "a break" after we have criticized it for some time. Particularly when production is heavy, the greater is the need to be reminded of class struggle as the key link and to persist in criticizing Teng. The twists and turns experienced since the criticism of Teng by the diesel engine workshop of our plant profoundly educated us. After the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts was launched, the workers of this workshop criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "taking three directives as the key link" and his "Regulations," and were the first to put forward the proposal to "work in opposition to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line." In high revolutionary spirits, they smashed the old rule of not producing any product early in the year. This brought about a bustling new scene in the workshop. But later, some cadres thought that the criticism of Teng was "more or less" completed, and this primary

task of criticizing Teng was neglected and class struggle relaxed. So some people took the opportunity to fan up a bourgeois evil wind, which repressed the socialist enthusiasm of the worker masses and affected production. The workers sharply criticized them, saying: "Your ideological line is not right. You grasp only the machine (the diesel engine), and not the line, and won't be able to produce the machine either." This criticism greatly jolted us. We re-studied Chairman Mao's directive that "management itself is a matter of socialist education," and further realized that socialist enterprise management must never be detached from class struggle as the key link and that only by constantly understanding the revolutionary demands of the masses, grasping the class struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and consolidating proletarian leadership in the enterprise can we bring about continuous development in revolution and production. Thus, together with the leading cadres of this workshop, we further aroused the masses to once again criticize the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The practice of struggle has made us deeply aware that whether we have fostered the concept of a protracted battle against the bourgeoisie within the Party and grasped the struggle to criticize Teng is a major problem bearing on whether we can adhere to the Party's basic line and continue the revolution. It is only when we persistently deepen the criticism of Teng that we can make the enterprise continue to forge ahead along the socialist path.

* * *

Bad Things Can Be Turned into Good Things

by

Yen Feng (燕 枫)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

Human progress and social development have never been smooth. In the struggle by the revolutionary people to transform society, class enemies carry out sabotage and create disturbances; in the struggle to transform nature, disasters such as flood, drought and earthquakes cannot be avoided. Whether in society or in nature, disturbances are not to be feared. Human society develops amid continuous struggle against all kinds of disturbances.

Chairman Mao points out: "Disturbances thus have a dual character. Every disturbance can be regarded in this way." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Chairman Mao's teaching fully embodies the thought of materialist dialectics, which holds that everything in the world is a unity of opposites and divides into two. Difficulties and facilities, good things and bad, may transform into their own opposites under given conditions. A disadvantage may be turned into an advantage, and bad things can lead to good results. Every disturbance is of course a bad thing, for it causes people certain damange. Before the outbreak of a disturbance, effort should be made to prevent it. But when it does occur, it may educate us by negative example, enabling us to understand it more thoroughly in struggle, grasp the law governing its activity and raise our skill of combating it, so that we may tame and defeat it.

Aren't the historical facts so?

In the past century and more, the chequered old China suffered savage aggression and ruthless plunder by one imperialist power after another. Our beautiful land was ravaged, millions of people were killed, and our rich natural resources were looted. These to the Chinese people were undoubtedly bad things, disturbances. However, as Chairman Mao pointed out: "All these wars of aggression, together with political, economic and cultural aggression and oppression, have caused the Chinese to hate imperialism, make them stop and think, 'What is all this about?' and compelled them to bring their revolutionary spirit into full play and become united through struggle." ("Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle") Enlightened by such a teacher of negative example as imperialism and through prolonged and repeated struggles, the Chinese people finally found the Marxist-Leninist truth and integrated it with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The chieftains of past opportunist lines were also important teachers of negative example. With evil consequences their own action caused the Chinese revolution, they made the revolutionary people deeply understand, by comparison between positive and negative results, the correctness of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the danger of the revisionist line. Guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and under the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people, by their heroic and unyielding struggle, at last completely overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and founded a great country of proletarian dictatorship.

During the period of socialist revolution, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has continued to guide our advance, while the chieftains of opportunist lines within the Party have continued to give us negative lessons. This is what the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing has done. Inheriting the counter-revolutionary cause of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, he whipped up a Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, practiced restoration and regression, instigated and supported a handful of class enemies to carry out counter-revolutionary activities in a vain attempt to topple our Party and undermine our dictatorship of the proletariat. The facts of this acute class struggle have taught us that the capitalist roaders within the Party are really the prime target of socialist revolution. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, our cadres and Party members have raised their awareness of class and line struggles in their struggle against the revisionist line. They have increased their ability to distinguish between true and false Marxism, mastered Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and continued to deepen their knowledge of the nature, target and tasks of the socialist revolution. It is also through such violent class struggle that our Party has tempered itself and become a great, glorious and correct party marching forward on the road toward the realization of communism.

This is as true of the struggle to transform society as it is of the struggle to transform nature. A strong earthquake is a serious natural disaster, for it may endanger the lives and property of the people. But in socialist China, through the efforts of the masses of people, this bad thing can turn into a good thing. It steels the people's revolutionary will to fight against the elements and pushes their struggle to know and transform nature extensively. Houses collapse and the farmland is destroyed, but this will harden their faith in man's triumph over nature, encouraging them to re-arrange the socialist landscape and draw the newest and the most beautiful picture. The recent strong quake which occurred in the Tangshan-Fengnan area, Hopei Province, caused serious damage and loss. But, with the close concern of our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, and guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the anti-quake and relief struggle has turned into something like a big school in which the cadres and the masses are educated and tempered. After the quake, Party organizations at various levels in the stricken areas came forward and fought heroically under most trying circumstances, rescuing the lives and property of the people. They have undergone a severe test, and have become stronger and more vigorous. Both the cadres and people in the stricken areas, consciously taking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the guide, worked selflessly and united together. This is a forceful criticism of the concept of private ownership and the idea of bourgeois rights, and has further promoted the socialist relationship between man and man. The quake is serious, but the people work hard, and the outlook of the stricken area changes rapidly. One by one factories and mines have resumed production, and the people's communes are striving to bring in a bumper farm harvest after the quake. When one place is hit by a natural disaster, it receives support from all other places. The PLA, standing in the van of the anti-quake and relief struggle, has further strengthened its fish-water relationship with the people. All areas and departments throughout the country, energetically promoting the communist spirit, have given the stricken areas support in the form of manpower and materials, fully demonstrating the superiority of the socialist system. In short, through this anti-quake

and relief struggle, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country have united more closely on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been more consolidated, and the cause of socialist revolution and construction has gained increasing momentum. The fact that in our country these good results have been gained in a short time after a strong quake is really something inconceivable to those bourgeois overlords both inside and outside the Party.

Turning a bad thing into a good thing does require a will and conditions. Disturbances and sabotages by class enemies, natural disasters and the difficulties they cause can turn into their opposites only under given conditions. The decisive conditions are the human factor, an advanced class and a correct line representing this advanced class. Chairman Mao once pointed out incisively: "The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome." ("Introductory Note to 'The Party Secretary Takes the Lead and All the Party Members Help Run the Cooperatives'") Having taken their destiny into their own hands and following a Marxist-Leninist line, the masses of people have inexhaustible strength and wisdom, capable of clasping the moon in the ninth heaven and seizing turtles deep down in the five seas. They will trample all difficulties and hazards underfoot. Why has exciting news continued pouring from the seriously stricken areas in Tangshan and Fengnan? Why has one wonder after another appeared? Why are there moving scenes of grasping revolution and promoting production everywhere? Basically, the reason is that, through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and the struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, cadres and the masses have further mastered Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. They have raised their own consciousness of class and line struggles. They are selfless and fearless. United in struggle, they forge ahead courageously. "Mount T'ai may weigh on us, but we won't bend our backs; the mountains may rock, but our will doesn't change."
Once more the heroic people of the stricken areas have proved with their own action this great truth: "Under the leadership of the Communist Party, so long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be performed." ("The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History")

Whether people use a correct line as the guide in face of natural disasters is extremely important. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is a magic weapon with which to defeat all reactionary classes, including the bourgeoisie within the Party and to beat natural disasters. When we firmly implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we will have faith in and rely on the strength of the masses, dare to struggle and to win, overcome the difficulties, triumph over disasters, and forever keep to the socialist road. Such chieftains of the revisionist line as Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing always make use of temporary difficulties caused by natural disasters to rabidly push a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in a bid to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. During the three-year period of temporary economic difficulties, they trumpeted the "white cat, black cat" theory, spread pessimistic views, and energetically whipped up the wind of going it alone and reversing verdicts. If their line

were followed, it would lead people to the capitalist road, and bad things could never be turned into good things. Our great leader Chairman Mao promptly criticized their revisionist line and issued the great call "Never forget classes and class struggle." And guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the people of the whole country, displaying a high fighting spirit and toiling self-reliantly, finally smashed the plots of reactionaries at home and abroad to restore capitalism in China, overcome the serious natural calamities, and pushed the socialist revolution and construction forward. We must firmly bear in mind this historical experience. In the current anti-quake and relief struggle, we must make greater effort to overcome the difficulties and turn bad things into good, and to this end, we must grasp class struggle as the key link, deeply criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, persist in placing proletarian politics in command, and fully summon the socialist enthusiasm of the masses to win still greater victories in the anti-quake and relief work.

All reactionaries invariably preach metaphysics. They regard opposites not as lively, conditional, changeable and mutually transformable, but as dead and rigid. From Liu Shao-ch'i to Lin Piao to Teng Hsiao-p'ing, all of them study problems with idealism and metaphysics. At critical historical moments, they always over-estimated the strength of the enemy and under-estimated the strength of the people in their analysis of the revolutionary situation. They did their utmost to magnify the temporary difficulties in the course of the advance and painted a gloomy picture of the excellent situation. By this means they sought to corrupt people's thinking, shake their will, disintegrate the revolutionary ranks and undermine the revolutionary cause. Some comrades of ours were afraid of setbacks, and when setbacks occurred, they blamed heaven and others and even fell into the pit of pessimism and defeatism. This was because they were influenced by metaphysical ideas and the revisionist line. They saw only the harm setbacks did to the revolutionary cause, without seeing that the masses of people had the strength to overcome them. Thus they were unable to do anything about bad things and difficulties and became fatalistic. Being afraid of struggle against class enemies and natural disasters, and being weak and impotent in face of all disturbances is a reflection of Right opportunist thinking, inconsistent with the Marxist philosophy of struggle. As proletarian revolutionaries, we should, as taught by Chairman Mao, adopt this attitude toward every disturbance: "First, we are against it; second, we are not afraid of it." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") The duty of Communists is to propagate dialectics inherent in things, expose reactionary metaphysical thinking, persist in struggle, and create the conditions to promote the transformation of all disturbances in a favorable direction.

Proletarians who firmly believe in materialist dialectics are revolutionary optimists. For hundreds of thousands of years, mankind has encountered numerous natural disasters. But mankind has not perished, but has developed. For thousands of years, the brutal oppression and bloody exploitation of the reactionary ruling classes have created for the broad masses of working people disasters many times greater than natural disasters. However, the revolutionary advanced classes by means of indomitable struggles have pushed human society to newer and higher stages of development. The history of class society is a history of class struggle in which the revolutionary classes have triumphed over the reactionary ones. As classes and class struggle will still exist for a long time to come and as the motion and

change in the world of nature will not stop, disturbances of one kind or another will still appear in the future. No matter how class enemies madly oppose and sabotage the revolutionary cause and no matter what disasters the destructive power of nature may bring to people, there is no doubt that revolution will triumph over reaction and man will triumph over nature. We are convinced that the revolutionary people, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and persisting in tireless struggle, will certainly be able to change society, transform nature and push history forward with still better results.

* * *

The Children's Corps Also Can Do Big Things

- On our biological control scientific research activity

by

Little Red Soldiers of Huangchuang School, Lungt'ang Commune, Minch'üan County, Honan

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

Editor's note: This is an article on biological control scientific research activity undertaken by the little Red soldiers. Inspiring and convincing, it deserves to be recommended to everyone. It is about a group of little Red soldiers, ranging from 7 to 14 years of age. They are not in a university nor "understand foreign languages." Depending entirely on the guidance of Mao Tsetung khought, they have done big things which are admired even by experts and solved some intricate problems which are still under investigation at home and abroad. Isn't this powerful rebuff to Teng Hsiao-p'ing who looks down on the "Children's Corps" and opposes the undertaking of scientific research by the masses? "The masses are the real heroes." Whatever work is to be done, it is essential to adhere to the mass line. This applies to scientific research as well. Party organizations in various localities should pay attention to and support scientific research activities by the masses. Professionals must further solve the problem of integrating with the masses. As long as we persist in carrying through Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, China's science and technology will definitely gain continuous development and scale new heights.

*

Our Huangchuang brigade, situated on the plain of eastern Honan, is an old cotton growing area, where more than 800 mow of cotton are planted annually. "Cotton is affected by pests throughout its life." In the past, due to ineffective pest control, the output of cotton was very low. Later, chemical insecticide was mainly used to control insects, but huge investments in manpower and money were required, and some side effects were produced. In 1973, the brigade Party branch dispatched some people to outside areas to study the good experience of biological control using insects to control insects, and then mass biological control scientific research activity was initiated throughout the brigade. Although we range from 7 to 14 years of age, we are Chairman Mao's little Red soldiers and we should participate in the battle to eradicate harmful insects. With the support of the Party branch and concretely organized and assisted by the poor and lower-middle peasants and teachers, our school established a biological control scientific research laboratory, and biological control scientific research by little Red soldiers started.

Just like any other undertaking, scientific research activity also must grasp class struggle as the key link and overcome the resistance coming from various kinds of exploiting-class ideas. "If kids can undertake scientific research, is there need for experts?" We encountered opposition from certain individuals almost from the start. We held this as a manifestation of contempt for the "Children's Corps." Why can't the Children's Corps undertake scientific research? During the war years, members of the Children's Corps like Little Tung Tzu could fight the local bullies and destroy the enemies like the adults did. We, little Red soldiers, who have grown in the great cultural revolution and are armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, certainly can contribute to socialist revolution and construction too. Revolutionary mass criticism has added to our inexhaustible strength and hardened our confidence to undertake scientific research. We all pledged to learn modestly from the poor and lower-middle peasants, to criticize and struggle against the bourgeoisie and revisionism, to storm the gate of scientific research, and to develop biological control scientific research using insects to control insects.

Of course, in the course of undertaking biological control we little Red soldiers, while daring to think and act, must not think or act blindly. Since we had no previous knowledge of biological control, what were we to do? Chairman Mao says: "Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment" ("Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?") Chairman Mao's instruction clearly tells us that knowledge comes from practice and that as long as we persist in practice and constantly sum up experience in the course of practice, we will acquire the needed knowledge. Over the past years, we have acted on Chairman Mao's teaching, and in the practice of biological control scientific research we have accumulated bit by bit knowledge of rearing insects to control insects.

Toward the end of autumn in 1973, we began to catch ladybugs (ladybirds) which are the natural enemy of cotton aphides (plant lice). At first, everyone was full of drive, but not many were caught. After catching them several times, we found that in the morning and evening of sunny weather more were caught. This was confirmed by several experiments. Practice made us understand the life habit of ladybugs and master the initiative in catching them. The following year, when we were about to use ladybugs to fight, we found that they did not quite obey our command. They flew away the moment they were placed on the cotton seedlings. How could we solve the problem of the ladybug's migratory flying? Still we had to investigate through practice. We thought the reason they could fly was that they had wings. So we tried to clip off the hard wings of the ladybugs. But we did not realize that the hard wings were the armor of the ladybugs for self-protection. When their wings were clipped, ants in droves surrounded and bullied them, nibbling at them and eventually biting them to death. This pained our hearts! The experiment failed, showing that our thought did not agree with the objective facts. Since clipping of hard wings did not work, what about clipping the soft wings? It worked after one experiment. However, when clipped too deep the scissors would sever the blood vessels, yellow water would ooze out, and after a while it would die. What then was the appropriate length to be cut? After several experiments, we finally found that

the soft wing should be appropriately cut by one-third, and that only one of the two wings needed be cut, so that the ladybug would lose its balance and could not fly. Later on, we also experimented with the method of starving them or stimulating them with cold water, and it also proved effective in controlling migratory flying of ladybugs. The success of catching ladybugs and controlling their migratory flying enabled us to understand Chairman Mao's scientific thesis that "all genuine knowledge originates in direct experience" ("On Practice") and also fortified our confidence. Everyone said: "We've found the way and let's follow it from now on. Let's put practice first."

Adhering to the viewpoint of putting practice first, we have not only done those things that have been done by the grown-up, but also dare to think and do those things that the grown-ups have not done. The group feeding of grass sandflies was a case in point. We bred a kind of insects which were called China grass sandflies (中华草蛉), which ate not only aphides but also the eggs and larva of cotton boll worms. But their larva had a very bad habit: they fought and slaughtered one another, with the big devouring the small and the strong eating the weak. At first we bred them in a bottle experimentally. We put a thousand head of larva into it, and in the end only three or four head survived. To mass breed grass sandflies, it was necessary to solve this contradiction. We heard that some specialists abroad adopted individual feeding, used modern equipment, and built huge plants at great cost. We could not use this method. The specialists from an agricultural institute who undertook scientific research here adopted group breeding and used the method of separating them by paper strips to prevent mutual slaughter. But this method was rather labor-consuming and quite troublesome in collecting the cocoons. Was there any other better method? We resolved to find the way for group feeding by practice. We thought: Since the first generation of grass sandfly larva passes in the wheat fields, was it possible to cut the wheat stalks into inch-long segments and turn them into "chambers" for these larva? In this way, they might "eat" collectively but "sleep" separately, and even if they fought each other, they might have a place to hide. We boldly conducted the experiment. In the beginning the results were not bad, but after a few days, it worked no more. The small insects climbed on the glass wall instead of the wheat stalk. Why? We took a sniff of the bottle and smelt a musty odor. The truth was that the wheat stalks we used were damp and mildewed. So we replaced them with dry wheat stalks. Before long, all the old and mature larva formed cocoons. When we took them out and took a look at them, we found there was still some trouble. Only three or four cocoons were formed on an inch-long wheat stalk, and it would be extremely difficult for them to metamorphose into adult worms. We pondered again: could we use the stems (stripped stalks) instead? The results of the experiment were very good. Last year, we used this indigenous method to increase the average cocoon formation rate of China grass sandflies to 62 percent--an advanced level. As wheat stems were available everywhere, the poor and lower-middle peasants energetically popularized this new invention of ours. They gladly praised us, saying: "The little Red soldiers are ambtious. They're like sunflowers on the scientific and technological front. Self-reliance creates miracles. Everyone of them is an indigenous specialist."

In nature, the annual proliferation period of beneficial insects often comes after harm is done to the crops by noxious insects. Therefore,

in undertaking biological control, if we are to utilize beneficial insects to eat noxious insects, we must solve the problem of late development of the former. This necessitates giving full play to men's subjective initiative and breeding and multiplying them in advance. The China grass sandflies emerge from the cocoons at the temperature of 27° C, and if we are to multiply them in early spring, it is necessary to raise the temperature. To solve this problem, all of us little Red soldiers made suggestions. We knew that the two layers of glass in a thermo-flask could preserve the temperature. Was it possible then to make a device like a thermo-flask? With the help and guidance of our teachers, we used two tanks of different sizes, encased the one into the other, poured warm water into the space between them, and lined the tank with saw dust. At the bottom of the tank we burned a kerosene lamp to raise the temperature. In this way, we built an indigenous incubator with constant temperature. The experiment proved the results were very good. The temperature of the small tank was maintained at 27° C. The insects were hatched two months earlier, and 300,000 more eggs of grass sandflies were laid. This lay the groundwork for insuring the releasing in June of large quantities of grass sandfly eggs into the cotton fields for the eradication of cotton boll worms. After May, when the weather gets warmer, the grass sandfly eggs would slowly hatch. However, at this time the harmful insects in the cotton fields have not yet emerged, hence the need to lower the temperature to delay the hatching of grass sandfly eggs. The specialists from the agricultural institute used an electric refrigerator to store the eggs. But once again we turned to our indigenous tank with constant temperature. If we could increase the temperature of the small tank, we should also find a way to lower it. Some schoolmates said: "When the chemical fertilizer dissolves in water, the water becomes refreshingly cool, showing that chemical fertilizer solution may lower the temperature." Hence, we used various kinds of chemical fertilizer to conduct comparative studies. The results were expectedly good, particularly in the case of ammonium chloride. It was possible within 24 hours to keep the temperature inside the tank at 8 to 14 degrees centigrade. The water might be changed once a day, and the chemical fertilizer solution could be taken to the fields, so nothing was wasted. The adoption of this method enabled us to delay the hatching period of grass sandfly eggs for more than twenty days. Owing to the effective control of hatching, during the three months of June, July and August, before the several high peaks of occurrences of cotton boll worms, we powered a million "troops" into the cotton fields to give the cotton boll worms a sound beating. These facts commanded even the admiration of the specialists. They said with deep feeling: "We've been doing scientific research for such a long time, yet done no better than these little Red soldiers." Who says the Children's Corps can't do big things? With Mao Tsetung Thought guiding our advance, the Children's Corps can do many things which in the past even adults couldn't accomplish, and it is also capable of scaling the heights of science!

In order to investigate the life habit of grass sandflies and do a better job in feeding and propagation, we established separately a larva team, an adult insect team and an observation team to make ceaseless and serious observation and study of grass sandflies day and night. One night, we studied Chairman Mao's works with a lamp behind a mating box of grass sandflies. Sometime later, we found all the grass sandflies had come out of the box. Was this an accidental occurrence or did it reflect the life habit of grass sandflies? We repeatedly carried out experiments, which showed that

phototaxis is its life habit. But we sometimes also noticed that grass sandflies frequently flew to dark places. How could one explain this phenomenon? Through serious observation, it was discovered that whenever grass sundflies spawned, they would seek dark places like old hens laying eggs. This showed proclivity toward darkness is also one of the life habits of grass sandflies, but this happens only under a special situation, i.e., at the time of spawning. After knowing and mastering the life habits of grass sandflies,we utilized their photophilous nature to put them in a new cage so as to collect the eggs from the old cage, and this greatly increased work efficiency. On the other hand, we used their propensity toward darkness by pasting black, blue or red paper on the spawning box, so they might lay more and better eggs. From prolonged observation, we discovered that grass sandflies liked to eat their own eggs. If the eggs were not removed promptly, they would be eaten up. In order to master the spawning period of grass sandflies and to collect the eggs in time, we organized 6 schoolmates to keep watch for eight days and eight nights. Since we could easily doze off at night, our teacher divided us into a shift of two. When we felt drowsy, we would nudge each other a bit, take a bite of scallion or garlic, or squeeze our nose to keep ourselves awake. After careful observation we found that nine o'clock in the morning and nine o'clock in the evening were hours in which grass sandflies lay most eggs. Therefore, the best time to collect the eggs would be 10 o'clock in the morning and 10 o'clock in the evening. In this way we mastered the law of life of grass sandflies step by step.

After 2-3 years of practice, we have gained gratifying results in biological control scientific research using insects to control insects. At present, basically no chemical pesticide is used on more than 800 mow of cotton in our brigade, and the cost of insect control has decreased from 13.5 yuan in the past to 0.98 yuan per mow. The output of cotton has increased considerably; last year's output of ginned cotton per mow was 145 catties, an increase of more than two times over pre-cultural revolution days. We little Red soldiers contributed a share of strength to this achievement.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow." Our road of scientific experiment is not a smooth one. Around summer last year, Teng Hsiao-p'ing stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and there appeared in the educational and scientific and technological circles such fallacies as "the quality of education is low" and "the masses cannot undertake scientific research." People holding these views did not like the idea of workers, peasants and soldiers undertaking scientific research, and had no respect for us youngsters. This gust of wind also blew to Huangchuang. Some said: "With students breeding insects and doing harvesting, can we have a high quality of education? Who wants such graduates?" The Party branch led us to study a series of Chairman Mao's directives concerning the educational revolution, look back at the great achievements gained since biological control was initiated in our brigade, and refute the arguments in favor of the Right revisionist attempt to reverse verdicts. Opening the school to society and participation in biological control has enabled us to undergo deep changes in thought and sentiment and raise our political consciousness considerably. In the past some schoolmates knew only to play. Now, to speed up agricultural development and increase the production of grain and cotton, many schoolmates often forget to eat and sleep, becoming as they do activists in breeding insects. To collect eggs at ten o'clock at night some schoolmates give up

the chance to see film shows and stick to their post. To find substitute feeds for grass sandflies, some schoolmates tasted the aphides with their mouth. To collect mantis eggs, some schoolmates, defying the hardship, covered scores of li and uttered no complaints when their feet were blistered and hands bled. A schoolmate fell off a tree and hurt his legs while collecting aphides. But when he knew that his insect breeding team would study Chairman Mao's works in the evening, enduring the pain, he asked his sister to push a cart to carry him to the team to take part in the study. On the intellectual level, we combined teaching and study with production and with scientific research, discussing and applying the biological control knowledge we acquired and also creating something new. On graduation some schoolmates joined the brigade's biological control center or the production teams' biological laboratories to shoulder a heavy load. Does this show that the quality of education is low? The poor and lower-middle peasants, being the best witnesses, have this to say: "The biological control is developed in the right direction. Opening the school to society follows a correct line. The students study biological control in school and go in for biological control after graduation. They strike root in the countryside, determined to dedicate themselves to farming. The quality of such students is first rate. We welcome them most heartily." In the course of the fierce struggle between the two lines, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line clearly points out the direction for us, and the Party branch of the brigade and the poor and lower-middle peasants lead us forward. Despite the fierce Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, our scientific research activity has not stopped but has expanded and developed vigorously from inside the school to outside it.

"Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights." We must continue to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with unflagging efforts, criticize Teng in depth, beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, persist in practice, create something new boldly, strive to develop scientific research, follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and scale the new heights in science.

* * *

The Longer the Tempering, the Stronger the Will

by

Fan Tzu-shan (樊子山)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

Where does the revolutionary will of the proletariat come from? It is tempered in all kinds of combat environment, especially in the violent storms of class struggle. The longer the tempering, the stronger the will; without tempering, the will cannot be strong. As Chairman Mao points out: "Plants raised in hot-houses are unlikely to be sturdy." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Only through fierce revolutionary struggles can we temper a firm and indomitable revolutionary fighting will.

The counter-revolutionary political incident which took place at Tienanmen Square last spring was a hopeless counter-attack against the proletarian dictatorship launched by the bourgeoisie inside the Party represented by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and a handful of counter-revolutionaries in society faced with defeat. Crushing this counter-revolutionary political incident was a major political battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. To the revolutionary people, this provided an excellent opportunity to temper themselves. The strong earthquake which occurred in the Tangshan-Fengnan area, Hopei Province, not long ago was also a major test for our cadres and masses. In the current anti-quake and relief struggle, our Party and people, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and grasping class struggle as the key link, have won and are winning splendid victories. This vividly shows that the victories won by our Party and people in the current anti-quake and relief struggle are due to their being tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the class struggle to criticize Teng. The Chinese people, who are victoriously pressing forward in the anti-Teng struggle, have withstood the test of such a political "earthquake" as the Tienanmen Square incident, and they are naturally able to withstand the test of any serious natural disaster.

The current anti-quake and relief struggle shows that our Party organization is indeed an "indomitable fighting citadel." With the surprise attack of a strong quake, the Party organizations at various levels in the stricken areas have not ceased fighting for a single moment. Leading groups based on the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young lead the cadres, Party members and people to carry out a struggle full of sound and color, giving full play to their role as fighting citadels. Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing vilify the leading groups at all levels set up since the great cultural revolution as "soft, lazy and loose"? Ironclad facts have rebuffed him most forcefully! Please look at this: In face of such a serious natural calamity, the many new and old cadres tempered in the great cultural revolution, so full of vigor and vitality, so selfless and dauntless, stick to their combat posts fighting heroically and tenaciously.

The current anti-quake and relief struggle shows that our army is indeed a strong force of steel. The vast numbers of PLA commanders and fighters rushed to the scenes of disaster after marching night and day. Fearing neither hardship nor death, they have fought continuously and risked their own lives to rescue their class brothers and sisters in danger. In attacking our army, didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing allege that Lei Feng "is no longer around"? Let us hear what people in the stricken areas say from the bottom of their hearts: "Everyone of these fighters brought up by Chairman Mao is a Lei Feng!"

The current anti-quake and relief struggle shows that our people are indeed a heroic people. Faced with the quake, they "do not bend their backs even when Mt. T'ai weighs on them nor change their will though the land rocks." They fully display the fighting spirit of revolutionary optimism. With pride and resolve, people in the stricker areas are restoring production and rebuilding their homes, performing one miracle after another. Didn't Teng H·iao-p'ing allege that "reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative"? Look at the heroic posture of the people in the stricken areas. Before the heroic people, how reactionary and small bourgeois lords like Teng Hsiao-p'ing appear!

A great anti-quake and relief struggle may be compared to a big school of revolution. I educates and trains people where they cannot be educated and trained in normal times. The anti-quake and relief fighters say rightly: "Although this quake caused material losses, the spiritual harvest is very great."

The quake has tempered the revolutionary people's ability to cope with any contingency. At the critical moment when the earth trembled, the heroic people in the stricken areas, calm as ever, consciously proceeded from the overall interests of the people, heroically and tenaciously fought the quake, and maintained a high degree of revolutionary organization and discipline. On the order of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the Party, the government, the army, the people and the students throughout the country were mobilized on an emergency basis to take effective measures to deal with the quake which struck without warning. The strong quake has not crushed us, nor can any contingency. The masses of people regarded this strong quake as a large-scale exercise of preparedness against war. No matter what surprise incident the bourgeoisie inside the Party and class enemies in society may provoke and no matter what form the surprise attack by social-imperialism and imperialism may take, our Party and people will rise resolutely and calmly to deal with it like they are resisting this strong quake.

The damage wrought by the strong quake has brought temporary difficulties to the people in the stricken areas in production and livelihood. But difficulties cannot frighten the heroic Chinese people into submission. The masses of the people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought have further enhanced their confidence in and determination to pursue the policy of self-reliance and hard struggle in the course of overcoming the effects of the disaster. Said the workers in the stricken areas: "A quake of 7 magnitude cannot break our backs. Red flowers of Tach'ing blossom as usual." They seized every minute to restore production and worked in open ground where they had no factory buildings. Under extremely harsh circumstances, they turned out large quantities of "anti-quake" brand products. Said the poor and lower-middle peasants in the stricken areas: "T e bigger the quake, the harder people work. We

must strive for a bumper harvest even in a disastrous year, and we pledge to contribute more to the state." They mapped out a general plan for anti-quake and relief work through self-reliance, and conducted revolution and production with the highest zeal. What a precious revolutionary aspiration! With the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, we can create vast material wealth and produce more coal, steel and grain. The miracles performed by the Chinese people in the anti-quake and relief struggle have once again proved: "We Chinese have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations." ("On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism")

In the current anti-quake and relief struggle, moving deeds glittering with the light of communist ideology keep appearing everywhere. This is extremely profound communist education to the cadres and masses. Revolutionary cadres in the stricken areas consciously share the weal and woe with the masses, face the danger by themselves, and see to it that the people are safe. They go to the most difficult places and undertake the heaviest burden. At critical moments, "consideration is given first to the masses and then Party members, first to the workers and then cadres, and the leaders are the last to pull out." How valuable such loyalty and responsibility toward the Party and the masses! Before the masses have vegetables, many cadres refrain from eating them and take pride in the fact that their living standard is lower than that of the masses. They think that by doing so they can temper their revolutionary will and make a new starting point for restricting bourgeois rights. Moving deeds of utter devotion to the public without any thought of self and risking one's life to save others are widely praised among the cadres and masses, and vigorously pound at the idea of bourgeois rights. When one place is in trouble, help for it comes from all places. The communist style is greatly developed on all fronts and in all localities across the country. Perseverance in the study of Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's writings in ordinary times produces remarkable results at critical junctures. Class struggle has existed throughout the anti-quake and relief work. Who is the victor? Proletarian ideas have beaten bourgeois ideas, socialist justice has prevailed over capitalist evils, and the dictatorship of the proletariat has smashed the sabotage by a handful of class enemies. New socialist things for the restriction of bourgeois rights have sturdily matured in the arduous anti-quake and relief struggle. Aren't these solid facts a most forceful criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's fallacy that "restriction of bourgeois rights also requires a material basis"? The development of the spirit of the anti-quake and relief struggle will surely lead to effective restriction of bourgeois rights and give impetus to the struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party.

For the revolution to run into difficulties and resistance is a normal phenomenon. I is in the course of struggle against difficulties and resistance that revolutionaries become fearless. Lenin not long after the victory of the October Revolution said: "When a new class ascends the historical scene as the leader and guide of society, a period of strong 'tossing' shocks, struggle and storm is inevitable." ("The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 3, pp. 513-514) For the sake of thoroughly smashing the system of exploitation and eliminating all exploiting classes, the proletariat is not afraid of any "tossing," shocks

and storm. Difficulties are nothing, and it is in the course of overcoming difficulties and dangers that human society has progressed. The history of China's modern revolution is an epic of the triumph over all kinds of difficulties and hardships under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. During the period of struggle in the Chingkang Mountains, the Red Army, faced with acute material scarcity, persevered in frequent fighting, smashing one counter-revolutionary encirclement and suppression campaign after another. On the Long March, intercepted and pursued by the enemy, the heroic Red Army crossed snow-bound mountains and grasslands, fighting the stubborn enemy and trekking 25,000 li, paving the way to go north to resist the Japanese. During the period of the Anti-Japanese War, our Party led the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the masses of the people to defeat the outwardly strong Japanese aggressors after eight years of arduous struggle. During the People's War of Liberation, relying on millet plus rifles, we defeated several million US-equipped Kuomintang reactionary troops, eventually crossed the natural barrier of the Yangtze River, and overthrew the Chiang family dynasty in 1949. After entering the period of socialist revolution, we also encountered numerous new contradictions and difficulties: the "poor and blank" material base, the imperialist blockade and embargo, sabotage by social-imperialism, the three consecutive years of natural calamities, rabid attacks by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, etc. However, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the people of the whole country fought the class enemies in society, the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, imperialism, revisionism and reaction as well as natural adversities. Haven't we, by heroic and tenacious struggle to surmount every difficulty, created today an excellent situation in which "everywhere orioles sing, swallows dart"?

In class society, man's struggle against nature is invariably closely linked with class struggle. Historical experience shows that in times of storm, class struggle and the two-line struggle within the revolutionary ranks are bound to become acute. We can tell steel from slag in the crucible. Whether one is a revolutionary or an opportunist can be seen clearly in a storm. After the failure of the great revolution, when the Chinese revolution was in low ebb and white terror reigned the whole country, Lin Piao was so frightened by the temporary outward strength of the enemy that he became pessimistic and dispondent about the revolution and wailed "How long will the red flag be flying?" The historical facts since the liberation indicate that whenever serious natural calamities appear, the bourgeoisie inside the Party always use the temporary difficulties so caused to spread pessimistic views and try to turn the clock back in an attempt to nullify the fruit of the revolution and restore capitalism. In the early 1960's, faced with the frantic anti-Chinese acts of the S \ et revisionists and the three years of temporary economic difficulties, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, acting in close collaboration with Liu Shao-ch'i, vigorously stirred up the wind of going it alone. He preached that "whether it is white or black, a cat which catches mice is a good cat." He openly advocated capitalism and negated socialism. We must firmly remember these historical lessons. Faced with the test of natural disasters, we must more consciously grasp class struggle as the key link,rally around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and unswervingly take the socialist road.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. The surest way to defeat every class enemy or beat every difficulty is by relying on a correct line, on the masses of people to carry out unremitting struggle under the guidance of the correct line. Speaking of relying on the masses of people to overcome difficulties, Chairman Mao particularly stressed the importance of the question of line. He said: "If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line, and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome." ("Introductory note to 'The Party Secretary Take the Lead and All the Party Members Help Run the Cooperatives'") This verity has been repeatedly borne out by practice of socialist revolution and construction led by our Party. In the current anti-quake and relief struggle, we must firmly implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, take class struggle as the key link, dare to struggle and to win, and do a still better job of all work in socialist revolution and construction.

"Gold cannot be dug without experiencing all kinds of difficulties." An iron-like revolutionary will must be tempered a thousand times. Our Party is a long-tested party, our army is an army that has fought numerous battles, and our people are a long-tempered people. In our prolonged arduous and tortuous struggles, we have accumulated rich experiences in fighting the enemy and difficulties. In the criticism of Teng and the counter-attack on the Right deviationist wind, man will triumph over nature. There may be landslides, but they are not to be feared. The journey of history may be full of twists and turns, yet the general trends of mankind's historical development cannot be changed by anyone, and the bright future will certainly belong to the proletariat. On the road of advance in future, no matter how many roadblocks the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party may set up, and no matter how many difficulties nature may impose on us, the indomitable Chinese Communists will certainly surmount every difficulty, forge ahead bravely and win still greater victories.

* * *

Consolidate and Develop the Fruit of the Health Revolution in the Countryside

by

Miao Yü (苗 雨)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

In the great anti-quake and relief struggle over the past month and more, barefoot doctors have played a huge part. Group after group of heroic characters radiating with communist thought has emerged. The barefoot doctors are health fighters who were the first to arrive at the first line of anti-quake and relief work. Among them, many disregarded their own safety or injuries and those of their family members,fully utilized the given conditions at the time, and promptly and by every means rescued and treated the injured victims. They worked closely with the medical teams which arrived at the scene in actively rescuing and treating the wounded, saving many of those who were seriously hurt and enabling those who received light injuries to recover quickly. Being familiar with local conditions, the barefoot doctors cooperated with the medical teams in vigorously launching preventive work and effectively safeguarding the physical health of the people. These facts eloquently demonstrate that the vast numbers of barefoot doctors have indeed become an indispensably important force in preventing and curing diseases in normal times and in saving the dying and treating the wounded in times of emergency. This is both a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in public health and a powerful rebuff to and penetrating criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line.

At the moment, driven by the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, the health revolution in Chinese countryside is progressing victoriously. The nation already has more than 1.5 million barefoot doctors, a formidable force. The cooperative medical service has been established in 85 percent of the production brigades, having a broad mass basis. Basically more than 50,000 people's communes have established health clinics. The development of barefoot doctors and cooperative medical service has exerted increasing effects on restricting bourgeois rights and reducing the three major differences. The poor and lower-middle peasants have begun to master control of rural medical and health services. The situation with regard to doctors and medical supplies in the vast countrysides has improved significantly. All this indicates that the rural health revolution has developed to a new stage.

Under the new situation, how to develop, reinforce and improve the ranks of barefoot doctors and the cooperative medical service is a very important question in continuing to advance the rural health revolution by further implementing Chairman Mao's directive "In medical and health work, put the stress on the countryside."

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. Developing, reinforcing and improving the ranks of barefoot doctors and the cooperative medical service is not a question of method, but a question of what line to be followed in fostering the health contingent and which class should dominate the health front in the countryside.

The direction of advance for these two new things was indicated by Chairman Mao's many important directives on the health revolution and the first two investigation reports on barefoot doctors and the cooperative medical service published in central newspapers and journals with Chairman Mao's close concern. Frantically opposed to Chairman Mao's revolutionary health line, Teng Hsiao-p'ing tried deliberately to reverse the verdict on "the health ministry of urban overlords." He could not wait to slash these two new-born things, i.e., barefoot doctors and the cooperative medical service. When he could not do so, he tried by all means to cause them to degenerate. Evidently, if we do not criticize this revisionist line of his and his crime of reversing the verdict on the "health ministry of urban overlords," it will be impossible to properly enforce Chairman Mao's revolutionary health line and there will be the danger of barefoot doctors and the cooperative medical service being undermined. Hence, to consolidate and develop the fruit of the rural health revolution, the most important thing is to take class struggle as the key link, deepen the criticism of Teng and continue to beat back the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts.

At the mention of development and improvement of barefoot doctors, some people always first think of professional and technical improvement. They hold that barefoot doctors have a good class origin and Red thought, but they are mainly deficient in technique. This notion is most erroneous. Indeed, barefoot doctors generally come from families of poor and lower-middle peasants or other working people. They have a rather high degree of political consciousness and desire to serve the people diligently. However, we must not forget that they too live in the environment of class struggle. If we do not constantly enhance their class struggle and line struggle consciousness, their thinking may likewise be corroded by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and by the old habitual force. Therefore, to foster and improve barefoot doctors, it is necessary to persist in putting proletarian politics in command. At the moment, many localities hold regular barefoot doctor training classes. There are more than 1,100 barefoot doctor universities or schools. More than 80 medical institutes and colleges are enrolling barefoot doctors. Some places have begun to enforce a system under which city doctors rotate their duties with barefoot doctors at regular intervals. All these are good methods for training and improving barefoot doctors. But, whatever method is used, enhancement of the professional standard should not be taken as the only task; instead, the chief attention should be focused on heightening the ideological consciousness of the barefoot doctors. This means continuing to organize them to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the theory of proletarian dictatorship, and a series of important directives given by Chairman Mao concerning the criticism of Teng and repulsing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts in order to increase their ability to differentiate between genuine and sham Marxism and strengthen their consciousness of struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party. If we let them plunge head-long into vocational affairs in alienation from the actual class and line struggles, we will lead them astray.

Being both commune members and doctors and doing not only mental but also manual labor--this is an essential feature of barefoot doctors, and their strongest point. Following the development of socialist revolution, all medical workers will eventually take this road. To train and improve barefoot doctors, it is imperative to make them continue to preserve and develop

this excellent feature and forever persist in the "barefoot" direction. After going to a university, should barefoot doctors still serve as barefoot doctors? Having attended training classes and improved their skills, should they still persist in participating in collective productive laborer? These are questions of principle that must be solved in earnest. A new-type socialist university isn't the ladder to officialdom nor the springboard away from collective productive labor, but a crucible for training laborers with socialist consciousness and culture. When barefoot doctors go to a university to receive training, they are recommended by the poor and lower-middle peasants, who earnestly hope that barefoot doctors, on graduating from a university will return to the villages to do a better job of disease prevention and cure. If they think that their skills having been upgraded, they need not return to the villages and that even if they do return, they may participate in less or no collective productive labor, in a word, they cannot again identify themselves with the poor and lower-middle peasants, they will lose the original meaning as barefoot doctors and begin to degenerate. Teng Hsiao-p'ing said that with their "knowledge increased," barefoot doctors may wear "straw sandals," "rubber-sole shoes" and "leather shoes." His evil intent was to make barefoot doctors slowly evolve into "doctors in chamber" of the past, that is, bourgeois intellectuals divorced from labor and the masses. We must continue to criticize this fallacy of his and oppose his revisionist line.

Training and improving barefoot doctors naturally also implies raising their vocational and technical standards. Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out: "The unity between politics and economics, and the unity between politics and technique should undoubtedly be maintained every year and forever." Prepared on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's instruction, "Several Problems Concerning the Work of Science and Technology" says with an ulterior motive that to persist in proletarian political work is "to oppose vocational research." This is a flagrant rumor and slander. The difference between us and Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line is not whether it is necessary to enhance vocational and technical work, but what kind of ideas should be used to command vocational and technical work. We have always held that under the command of proletarian politics, barefoot doctors will be able to make greater contributions to the people when their skills are more refined. However, as regards the contradiction between politics and vocational work, politics is the principal aspect determining the direction of vocational and technical development. At the same time, a correct political viewpoint can inspire people to come to a better grip with vocational and technical work. We see that many barefoot doctors climb mountains and wade through waters to collect herbs in extremely cold or hot weather, study and prepare drugs day and night, and even at the risk of their own lives test the effect of acupuncture or drugs on themselves. Their motive is primarily not to conduct vocational research but to relieve the sufferings of the poor and lower-middle peasants. As long as such consciousness of serving the people continues to be enhanced, their vocational and technical standards will surely be further improved in a correct direction.

The principal way to enhance the vocational and technical standards is "to study warfare in warfare." So far as the entire force of barefoot doctors is concerned, only a few can enter colleges. Can the majority who

do not enter colleges improve their standards? Of course they can. Real skills are not learned from school, but are acquired from practice. Hasn't the existing technical standard of the vast numbers of barefoot doctors been acquired in the course of practice in disease prevention and cure? Provided they learn modestly from the poor and lower-middle peasants, continue to sum up the experiences of the people in their struggle against diseases, dig up the medical legacy of the mother country, and study by themselves some medical theories in connection with their experience in preventing and curing diseases, they are fully capable of raising their technical level higher and higher. Even after they enter school, they must not improve their skills behind closed doors. Medical institutes and schools of various levels should, based on the materialist line of knowledge--"Practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge," unceasingly broaden the practicing sphere of barefoot doctor students, and conduct theoretical teaching on the basis of practice. They should pay attention to summing up their concrete experiences, systematizing them and raising them to the theoretical level so as to use them to better guide the students in their future medical practice. If their existing practical experiences are ignored and teaching is not conducted in an open-door way and if they are confined to a small classroom to study theory, no good results can be achieved.

Barefoot doctors and the cooperative medical service--these two new socialist things are closely related to each other. Intensifying the building of a force of barefoot doctors is very important for the consolidation and development of the cooperative medical service. On the other hand, the development and enhancement of the cooperative medical service will enable barefoot doctors to play a greater role in the rural health revolution. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in health, the cooperative medical service in various places is being operated with better and better results. However, it must be seen soberly that here there is still a sharp struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. Some comrades hold that the cooperative medical service could be considered a success if the accumulation of reserve funds continued to increase, the coverage of payments by one's organization was enlarged and even free medical service was offered. The idea of using the accumulation of reserve funds as the only criterion for evaluating the cooperative medical service is wrong. To be sure, if we are to increase the ability of the cooperative medical service in preventing and curing diseases, it is extremely important to increase the reserve funds, but how can we do this? By relying on our efforts and the masses in running the service and developing the socialist collective economy? Or by turning the medical station into a capitalist "subsidiary establishment" and making huge profits? Marx said: "Old things always seek to restore and consolidate themselves in new forms." ("To F. Bolte," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 4 p. 394) With Teng Hsiao-p'ing as the chief representative, the bourgeoisie inside the Party and class enemies in society, while blatantly attacking the cooperative medical service, also adopt more deceitful means to erode, like worms, the revolutionary content of the cooperative medical service. Therefore, in consolidating and developing the cooperative medical service, we cannot merely fix our eyes on the accumulation of reserve funds, but, as in consolidating and developing the socialist collective economy, we should persist in the Party's basic line and uphold class struggle as the key link in practical work.

At the moment, there are three forms of rural cooperative medical service in our country, operated by the brigade, operated jointly by the commune and the brigade, and operated by the commune. Generally, it is run by the brigade in most cases. What form a commune or brigade should adopt ought to be based on local practical conditions and be discussed and decided on by the commune members. No uniformity should be imposed. Nevertheless, it is certain that following the development of the collective economy of the people's commune and the continuous increase of fund accumulations at the commune and brigade levels, the cooperative medical service, as a socialist collective welfare undertaking, will be operated more and more jointly by the commune and brigade or by the commune. This is the inevitable trend of development. We should constantly sum up experience and ardently, actively and systematically guide the development of the cooperative medical service.

The revolution in public health is a penetrating social revolution. To develop, reinforce, and improve barefoot doctors and the cooperative medical service and to solve the problems of disease prevention and cure for hundreds of millions of peasants involves work in many fields. It is very difficult to accomplish this by merely relying on the strength of health departments. Under the Party's centralized leadership, health departments must adequately rely on the masses and the collective, and bring into full play the initiative of localities and the role of various departments concerned. We firmly believe that under the leadership of Party committees at all levels, driven by the struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and with all-out support and intensive care of the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, these two new socialist things--barefoot doctors and the cooperative medical service--will certainly grow more sturdily in the storm of class struggle and in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao.

* * *

We Must Promote Diligence and Frugality and Practice Economy

by

Ch'i Hsin (齐新)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

Promoting diligence and frugality and practicing economy is our Party's glorious tradition formed in the long course of revolutionary struggle; it is also our great policy for building socialism. Over the past two decades and more since the founding of the People's Republic, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the Chinese people, pursuing a policy of independence and self-reliance, waging arduous struggle, promoting diligence and frugality and practicing economy, have built China from a poor and backward country into a socialist state on the road to prosperity. In particular, through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the criticize-Lin, criticize-Confucius movement and the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Rightist attempt to reverse verdicts, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been further consolidated, industrial production has kept developing and agricultural production has again reached a new level in summer harvest this year on the basis of 14 years of consecutive bumper harvests. Under this excellent situation, to continue to practice rigid economy and oppose waste remains a question of great importance.

"Practice rigid economy and oppose waste"--this policy of building the country through diligence and frugality as put forward by Chairman Mao reflects the objective law governing the growth of the socialist economy. Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The character of socialism dictates that we mustn't take the old road of capitalism, whether in developing industry or agriculture. This means that we must neither plunder other countries nor rely on foreign aid, and that we can only take the road of independence and self-reliance and rely on our own strength to develop our economy. Promoting diligence and frugality and practicing economy is a very good method to resolve the contradiction that ours is a large yet poor country. Only by running all undertakings through diligence and frugality can we keep increasing our reserves, consolidating and expanding our socialist economy, and making our country richer and stronger day by day. If we do not pay attention to economy in various respects and do not cherish the wealth of the people but undermine and waste the means of production and subsistence of the state or the collective,then the socialist cause will be harmed and the dictatorship of the proletariat weakened.

Chairman Mao points out: "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people." "Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony." To persevere in promoting diligence and frugality and practicing economy is of extremely vital significance in implementing this great strategic policy of Chairman Mao's. At present, imperialism and social-imperialism still exist, and so does the danger of war. The contention for world hegemony between the two superpowers--the Soviet Union and the United States--is getting fiercer, and they have not given up their policies of aggression and expansion for a single day. The Soviet Union, in particular, does not abandon its intent to subjugate us. We must heighten our vigilance. When we develop production

with great efforts, pay attention to saving manpower and financial and material resources, store up grain and other supplies, and make both mental and material preparations against aggressive war, we shall find ourselves in an invincible position when confronted with unexpected happenings. Also, it should be seen that as our country is vast in territory and complicated in terrain and climate, it is inevitable that some parts of it are hit by natural calamities like floods, drought, typhoons, hailstorms, and earthquakes. For this reason, we must persevere in arduous struggle, promote diligence and frugality, practice rigid economy, make careful calculations in every respect, and be materially prepared for natural disasters and relief.

Our socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat is an integral whole, the nation being a "coordinated chess game." The interests of the whole nation are, fundamentally speaking, identical with the interests of an area or a department. When one locality is hit by natural disasters and runs into difficulties, it is necessary to organize the forces of all other localities and departments under the unified leadership of the Party and the State to render assistance in solving the difficulties. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We should encourage comrades to take the interests of the whole into account." ("Rectify the Party's Style of Work") "Communists must grasp the principle of subordinating the needs of the part to the needs of the whole." ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War") For this reason, when making plans, doing things and pondering over problems, we must proceed from the fact that China has 9,600,000 square kilometers and a population of 800 million. We must think of wartime while living in peace, think of a lean harvest while reaping a rich harvest, think of the disaster-stricken area while we are in an area of bumper harvest. We must be cautious and make overall and all-round plans. Obviously, it is wrong for an area or unit, having gathered a rich harvest and increased its industrial production, to consider only its own interests and take an indifferent attitude toward the needs of the state and the difficulties of other localities and other people. After a strong quake struck the T'angshan-Fengnan area recently, with the close concern of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, other areas of the country have dispatched group after group of medical workers together with huge quantities of medicine, food, clothing and construction materials to aid the stricken areas--fully displaying the communist spirit of "taking the whole nation as a coordinated chess game."

Material production is the basis of social life. To promote diligence and frugality and practice economy, we must make a success of production. With some areas afflicted with serious natural disasters, it is even more important to step up production. Many worker comrade have pledged: "We will help the stricken areas to recoup their losses!" This revolutionary spirit deserves praise. Grasping the revolution firmly and promoting production vigorously is a positive measure for promoting diligence and frugality and practicing economy, as well as an effective action to aid the stricken areas. We should do everything in our power to tap the potentials, produce more grain coal, steel, electric power, machinery, chemical fertilizers, medicine and light industrial products to help the stricken people restore production and rebuild their homes. If we are irresponsible for our production tasks and fail to make active efforts to overfulfill production tasks wherever possible, we will fall short of the trust of the Party and the expectation of the

people. Some people always stress limited production potentials and hold that without adding manpower and equipment it would be impossible to increase production. This notion is unrealistic. Chairman Mao says: "Every socialist economic enterprise must pay attention to the maximum utilization of manpower and equipment, to the maximum improvement of labor organization, business management, and labor productivity, save all manpower and material resources wherever possible, and practice labor emulation and business accounting." ("Introductory note to 'The Experience of Litzuyuan Agricultural Producer Cooperative, Chenju District in Economizing on Production Expenses'") Chairman Mao's teaching indicates to us the correct way to tap the potentials and increase production. As long as we take class struggle as the key link, trust and rely on the masses, bring the socialist enthusiasm of the masses into full play and keep adjusting the relations between man and man, we shall certainly be able to develop production continuously in depth and breadth and create more material wealth. Whatever difficulties may be encountered in increasing production, they pale in comparison with those encountered by people of the calamity-stricken areas. Confronted with the extremely serious natural disaster, the heroic people of T'angshan fought bravely and in a short period restored communications, transportation and water and electricity supply. In particular, the staff and workers of K'ailuan colliery who have made major contributions to socialist revolution and construction, victoriously mined the first quantity of "anti-quake coal" on the tenth day after the strong quake, thus working a rare miracle in anti-quake history. When we compare with them, what difficulties of ours are insurmountable? Many areas and units in the country, to aid the stricken areas, kept on increasing production and setting new records by displaying the revolutionary spirit of defying hardship and death. The facts of these advanced units fully show that the production potentials are still considerable and it is entirely possible to further increase production.

To practice diligence and economy or extravagance and waste--this is an important aspect of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Only by taking class struggle as the key link is it possible to practice economy well. Like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing is a member of the inner-Party bourgeoisie sucking the blood of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. Their class nature determines that they will recklessly squander the fruit of labor of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. Using their power, they push a counter-revolutionary revisionist line, consistently oppose Chairman Mao's policy of building the country through diligence and frugality, do their utmost to extend and strengthen bourgeois rights, encroach on and wantonly squander vast amounts of material wealth created by the working people, being more ruthless than even the capitalists. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, worshipping things foreign and counting on imports, did his best to peddle that "major policy" of capitulation and national betrayal--begging foreign monopoly capital for technology and equipment to be paid for with China's valuable natural resources. If his line were followed, it would certainly cause our country enormous political and economic losses. Some units spend huge sums of money where these should not be spent and accumulate large stocks for a long time only to be seriously damaged in some cases. This intolerable phenomenon of waste is caused by the pernicious influence of the revisionist line. Facts prove that where the line is incorrect, there will be waste. When we conscientiously study Chairman Mao's series of important instructions issued during the great cultural revolution and

particularly since the start of the struggle to repulse the Rightist attempt to reverse verdicts, when we grasp the crucial point and deepen criticism of Teng, we shall be able to better implement the policy of practicing rigid economy and opposing waste, having more and more ways to achieve economy.

Each and every comrade of ours must view the question of economy from the plane of struggle between the two classes and the two lines. Promoting diligence and frugality and practicing economy is not the business of economic departments alone, but an important business of the whole Party and the whole nation in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, principles and policies. All state organs, factories and enterprises, stores and schools must carry forward the revolutionary spirit of arduous struggle and plain living displayed in the past war years. They must save all manpower and material and financial resources as far as possible, strive to do more things with less money, and spend every cent and use every grain effectively and rationally for developing the socialist cause. To this end, it is extremely important to strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party and arouse the masses to supervise the socialist economy. We should follow the mass line in determining our spending. "Corruption and waste are heinous crimes." ("Our Economic Policy") We must strike hard at those criminal acts of corruption, theft and sabotage of national construction, and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the bourgeois style of ostentation and extravagance and willfully squandering state wealth. Only thus will our socialist economy be further developed and the dictatorship of the proletariat further consolidated.

* * *

Study the Dialectics of Lu Hsün's Later Essays

by

Feng Hua (冯 华)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

Lu Hsün's writings summarize the rich experience in class and line struggles. This is particularly evident in his later essays for they are full of materialist dialectics. This is extremely precious spiritual wealth left behind by Lu Hsün. In order to criticize revisionism and fight against the bourgeoisie inside the Party, we must make a serious study of Lu Hsün's later essays so as to acquire combat skills from them and sharpen our weapons of criticism.

Chairman Mao points out: "Lu Hsün's later essays are so penetrating and powerful and yet so free from one-sidedness precisely because he had grasped dialectics by then."(1) Lu Hsün was able to apply Marxism "in a concrete and practical manner" in "explaining the new facts and new phenomena that arise every day."(2) His penetrating analysis of the contradictions in Chinese society infused almost all of his later essays with the radiance of materialist dialectics.

Lu Hsün's later essays radiate with the proletarian party spirit and intimately serve actual struggles, being a product of integrating theory with practice. As a youth, Lu Hsün plunged himself into the vortex of revolutionary struggle. He took part in the Revolution of 1911 and the May 4 Movement, going through class divisions after the May 4 Movement and the rigorous tests following the failure of the great revolution. In his later years he led revolutionary literary and art fighters in bravely smashing the cultural "encirclement and suppression" carried out by the Kuomintang reactionaries. He also displayed firmness in struggling against Chou Yang and his ilk who espoused the Wang Ming opportunist line Revolutionary struggle made him embrace Marxism while rich practical experiences in struggle provided him with a profound material basis for studying and applying Marxism to an analysis of the contradictions in Chinese society.

"The method of analysis is a dialectical method. What is meant by analysis is to analyze the contradictions in things."(3) Lu Hsün excelled in applying the law of the unity of opposites to examining the various aspects of a contradiction and viewed problems from all sides. He laid strong emphasis on getting familiar with the three sides--enemy, friends and ourselves, "understanding not only the reality of the revolution but also having a deep knowledge of the enemy's situation."(4) Lu Hsün himself did precisely that. He saw both the positive and negative aspects of things, taking into account not only the revolutionary camp but also the reactionary citadel, not only the open enemy but also the hidden "termites," visualizing the bright future in the midst of the white terror and perceiving the adverse undercurrent in a victorious situation. He was therefore completely at home with the development of the revolutionary situation as well as the changes in class relations.

The article he wrote on the eve of the collapse of the 1927 great revolution, "Celebrate That Side That Captured Shanghai and Nanking," was an example of applying the law of the unity of opposites to making an all-round analysis of problems. The capture of Shanghai and Nanking by the troops of the Northern Expedition was at the time indeed a victory. Those who looked at a problem from the metaphysical point of view saw only the contradiction between the N rthern Expedition army and warlords like Wu P'ei-fu and Sun Ch'uan-fang. They believed that the Northern Warlords would soon be struck down and that the revolution would be crowned with victory. They failed to see that an acute and fierce class struggle persisted within the revolutionary united front. In their eyes, the revolutionary camp was like an iron plate, with everyone displaying the armhand of revolution being addressed "comrade." As a matter of fact, quite a few speculators, like the "phoney foreign devils" depicted in The Story of Ah Q, were also in Canton, the cradle of the revolution, setting off firecrackers in celebration of the "festive occasion"! Materialist dialectics provided Lu Hsün with a penetrating insight. N only did he see the victory of the Northern Expedition army, but he also perceived the new contradictions and new divisions within the ranks of the Northern Expedition army. He characterized the political condition in Canton at the time as "red with a touch of white," pointing out that counter-revolutionary conspirators were sharpening their knives behind the murky fog of firecrackers set off during the celebrations. He issued a timely warning to the revolutionaries: "The final victory does not rest with the number of people in their moment of jubilation, but with the number of those who continuously launch attacks." H tioned against "intoxication with small successes and drifting toward laxity and forgetting about launching attacks" and warned that the "cradle of the revolution" could quite easily become a counter-revolutionary cradle. As was expected, less than two days after he wrote this article, Chiang Kai-shek engineered a counter-revolutionary coup. Communists and the revolutionary masses were slaughtered in their tens of thousands. The shrill sound of gunshots on the banks of the Huangpu River confirmed Lu Hsün's correct prediction!

In the face of divisions in the revolutionary camp, Lu Hsün remained firm and unapprehensive, viewing the string of "splits, cohesion and changes" within the revolutionary camp as fully in accord with the normal manifestations of dialectics. He personally witnessed the splits between the revolutionists and the reformers prior to the 1911 Revolution and the divisions on the cultural front into leftwing and rightwing factions after the May 4 Movement. Throughthese he gained a deep understanding of the changes. Getting to the root causes of these divisions, Lu Hsün said: "Whenever a revolutionary force comes to the fore, its fighters are generally motivated by the same desire to resist the status quo, but are quite divergent in ultimate objectives."(5) Because of "different ultimate objectives," people like Wu Yü and Liu Pan-nung degenerated one after another from "exemplary cart-pullers in their forward advance" into "cart-pullers with their bottoms moving backward"--restorationists. Lu Hsün regarded "division" as absolute and "cohesion" as relative. A new "division" will inevitably bring new "cohesion," which nevertheless cannot insure absolute purity of the ranks, and there begins a new "division" because of the "infiltration of opportunists" into the contingent. Therefore, he cautioned against opportunists conspiring to "bore" the revolution from within. He also counseled against becoming apprehensive and panicky over "division" and "reorganization" of

the revolutionary contingent. He looked upon those who consider internal struggle as "unfathomable" and who exhibit war-weariness and pessimism as running counter completely to materialist dialectics, persons fettered by idealism and metaphysics. Lu Hsün said rightly, "The pessimists keep themselves out of problems and do nothing about distinguishing right from wrong" or "they just find themselves drifting to the declining camp."(7)

Because of his adherence to materialist dialectics, Lu Hsün remained ever optimistic toward the struggle. He believed that through struggle, the revolutionary contingent was bound to forge ahead and grow in strength, increasingly "becoming a purified and crack contingent."(8) Lu Hsün's analysis has been verified by the history of the two-line struggle in our Party. In the past half a century, our Party has been split on numerous occasions and gone through ten major line struggles. After the founding of the People's Republic, as predicted by Lu Hsün, "in the course of building socialism, there will be splits, cohesion and changes."(9) It is exactly through these changes that our Party successively unmasked the chieftains of the revisionist line such as Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. After these changes, our Party has not been weakened but instead has become purer, firmer, more united and more vigorous. Currently deepening, the great struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is a continuation and intensification of the ninth and tenth line struggles within the Party. This struggle is bound to further consolidate and develop the victorious fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution and usher in brighter prospects of the socialist cause.

Marxist dialectics serves as the ideological and political telescope and microscope of the proletariat. It made Lu Hsün sharp-sighted in the course of struggle, enabling him to see things truly and penetratingly and enabling him to see far and to bring out the essence of things from their complicated phenomena. The essence and phenomena of things embody the unity of opposites, with the essence manifesting itself through phenomena but often covered up by phenomena. In debating about issues, Lu Hsün paid close attention to tearing off the disguises of his opponents and exposing their counter-revolutionary essence, so as "to reveal the horse hoofs under the fur of a unicorn."(10) In the 1930's the "four fellows" appeared as "instructors" of Marxism-Leninism. Lu Hsün was not misled by their imposing "title" nor was he taken in by their opportunist line of reasoning. Lu Hsün approached any question and anybody with an analytical attitude. In dealing with the "four fellows," he also listened to what they said and observed their deeds. He perceived that "they talked with a flourish by day but were engaged in divisive and splitting activities at night."(11) He then "turned the light on" and caused "the band of demons lying in the shade of the big tree to reveal what they were."(12) Chou Yang and his ilk played up "the big issue of 'the united front'" in their capitulationist articles of "literature for national defense." Lu Hsün instantly recognized their "hoofs" in their attempt to sell out proletarian leadership, and used the scalpel of Marxism to remove the "unicorn's fur" that covered their "resist Japan" and other "patriotic" hoofs. He thus brought out the capitulationist essence of their "subtle" efforts to "drain off the revolutionary strength of the nation" from within. (13)

The defeat of the erroneous line by the correct line and the substitution of decadent things by the new is an inevitable trend of history. The Communists and the revolutionaries must "propagate the dialectics inherent in things to promote their transformation and achieve the goal of the revolution."(14) In his later essays, Lu Hsün cited innumerable vivid facts to illustrate the process of mutual transformation, under certain conditions, between the two opposing sides, the new and the old, revolution and reaction, and to caution people to be thorough in making revolution. His militant slogan "beat the dog in the water," a call for the transformation of the revolution into victory, embodies the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat. In nearly a century of revolutionary struggles in China, the revolutionaries and the reactionaries have been engaged in protracted trials of strength, with the rulers and the ruled reversing their respective positions many times. Lu Hsün witnessed the bloody slaughter of revolutionaries such as Ch'iu Ch'in and Hsü Hsi-lin by the Ch'ing rulers prior to the 1911 Revolution. After the Revolution, reactionaries such as Chang Chieh-mei who killed martyr Ch'u Ch'in became dogs in the water. Intoxicated with victory, the revolutionary Wang Chin-fa, who became governor of the military government at Shaohsing, called for "leniency" toward the enemy and sparing the "dogs in the water." As a result, when the second revolution ended in failure, the "dogs in the water" like Chang Chieh-mei scampered ashore under the protection of Yüan Shih-k'ai's troops and bit Wang Chin-fa to death. Look, at first the reactionaries were on the stage and the revolutionaries below the stage; the former were the oppressors and the latter the oppressed; the former were the dogs on the shore and the latter people bitten by the dogs. Through revolutionary struggles, however, the positions of the two sides changed, with the revolutionaries on the stage becoming the victors and the reactionaries below the stage as the dogs in the water. However, the positions of the two sides did not remain unchanged all the time. Because the dogs in the water were desperate, they swam and climbed ashore as fast as they could, while the revolutionaries ashore "took pity" on the dogs. In these circumstances, the reactionaries that had been struck down regained their former positions, and the revolutionaries were again persecuted. Therefore, Lu Hsün bitterly denounced those who showed "mercy" toward the demons and strongly called for "doing to those what they do to you,"(15) that is, beating the dogs in the water until they cannot arise again. This is because "the nature of dogs is unlikely to unchange."(16) Before they fall into the water, they want to bite people, and after they fall into the water, they may not necessarily change their nature. Moreover, their being in the water does not mean they are finished. Sometimes, they look like being "in the water," but "they are not really in the water for they have built their lairs and stored enough provisions." The dog in the water appears wounded, yet "it pretends to limp to arouse people's sympathy" so it could get ashore once again. Therefore, a revolutionary should not be so bookish as to regard the fall of a vicious dog into the water as success in the revolution and think that everything will be all right and he can sit back and relax. Thus, "the dreamer is always the loser."(17) Isn't the living dialectics Lu Hsün learned from bloody experience and lessons equally enlightening to us in our present struggle against the chieftains of "homecoming contingents" like Teng Hsiao-p'ing?

During the Revolution of 1911, the fact that revolutionaries like Wang Chin-fa fell prey to "dogs in the water" like Yüan Shih-k'ai is determined by their vulnerable and compromising nature as members of the national bourgeoisie. At the same time, it is inseparable from their metaphysical approach to ideological problems. They were often inclined to view problems in an isolated and static manner. They failed to view the struggle against people like Yüan Shih-k'ai and Chang Chieh-mei as a struggle between the two classes, mistaking instead the issue for mere manifestations of personal gratitude and grievance. They thought once the republic was established "all old grudges should be forgotten."(18) Lu Hsün did just the opposite. In struggling against assorted opponents in polemics, he never looked upon the other side as isolated individuals but regarded them as "representing a certain body,"(19) that is, a class or group. He never looked upon struggle as "personal matters having no bearing on the whole situation."(20) He consistently regarded such struggle as part of the struggle between the two classes and two lines, "having something to do with public bitterness and not personal grievances."(21) That is why he insisted that "writers as combatants should pay attention to the 'controversial aspect,'"(22) that is, a critical assessment on the ideological and theoretical plane. He did not subscribe to the view that the temporary setback of a certain opponent or the stepdown of a certain representative of the opposing camp indicated the complete collapse of the reactionary class and the reactionary line or the complete triumph of the revolutionaries. In criticizing the Chiang Kai-shek clique's policy of surrender and national betrayal, Lu Hsün pointed out: Some people "believe the stepdown of the general of non-resistance will mean the end of 'non-resistance.' They do not understand this logic: the general is a person and non-resistance is a doctrine. A person may step down, but the doctrine may remain on the stage."(23) If the big landlord and big bourgeois classes are still on the stage, will the traitorous line representing their class interests vanish with the stepdown of individual representatives? Although the chieftains of the revisionist line have collapsed one after another since China entered the period of the socialist revolution, has the revisionist line disappeared at all? No! Why? Because the social basis for generating the revisionist line is still there, and the bourgeoisie inside the Party is still around. One irrefutable proof is that not long after Teng Hsiao-p'ing resumed work, he tried to reverse the decisions of the great cultural revolution and apply revisionism in a big way. Teng Hsiao-p'ing has now stepped aside but this does not mean the revisionist line has vanished and class struggle is over.

Lu Hsün applied the dialectic point of view governing the mutual transformation of contradictory aspects under given conditions not only in observing the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves but also in analyzing the contradictions of the revolutionaries themselves. It is a metaphysical view that once a person is a revolutionary he will always remain so for the rest of his life. Citing the facts of how the "fellow travelers" degenerated and defected, Lu Hsün came to realize that it would be quite easy for the "left wing" to become the "right wing." As he said, some people "previously did fight against darkness, but once they gained a certain status, they themselves became identified with darkness."(24) This is because when they

joined the revolution they were in fact "merely fighting for an old chair. They found the chair somewhat disgusting when they started pushing it, but once they got hold of it they found it precious."(25) So, they would naturally turn into their opposites, into non-revolutionaries or even counter-revolutionaries. In our Party, a number of "fellow travelers" in the period of the democratic revolution have become capitalist roaders in the Party in the socialist revolution period. Hasn't this once again proved the law revealed by Lu Hsün? A revolutionary must face this problem squarely and raise his awareness of continuing the revolution. Like the way Lu Hsün applied materialist dialectics, he should strive to transform the subjective world while transforming the objective world by constantly dissecting himself and always keeping his revolutionary youthfulness. If a person regards revolution as a "chair" to be grabbed, if he aspires to and extends bourgeois rights, then with the intensification of the revolution sooner or later he will become the target of the revolution, to be struck down by the revolutionary people as a member of the bureaucratic class. "The supersession of the old by the new is a universal irresistible law of the universe."(26) The vast numbers of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals want revolution and they want to advance in the direction of the grand communist goal. This surging historical tide cannot be stopped by anybody.

This years marks the 95th anniversary of the birth of the great Lu Hsün. When we observed his 85th birth anniversary a decade ago, the great proletarian cultural revolution was rising flourishingly. In the past ten years Lu Hsün's brilliant thinking and thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit has constantly inspired us to battle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party. The hurricane of the great proletarian cultural revolution has swept the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao into the dustbin of history, and the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing has also sunken into the ocean of revolutionary mass criticism. The revolution is advancing, the struggle is continuing. Let us follow in the footsteps of Lu Hsün and "continuously launch attacks" on the road of continuing the revolution to win still greater victories!

Notes:

(1) (3) "Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work"

(2) "A False Declaration of Freedom: Thoroughgoing"

(4) (25) "Two-hearts Collection: A Glimpse of Literature and Art in Shanghai"

(5) (8) "Two-hearts Collection: Non-revolutionary Radical Revolutionists"

(6) "Color Literature: Catering to the Times and Returning to the Past"

(7) "Randon Talks: 'Pessimistic Views of Chinese Literary Forum'"

(9) "N es after 'October'"

(10) "Sequel to Huakai Collection: I Still Can't 'Carry'"

(11) (13) "Last Chapter of Chieh-chieh-t'ing Essays: Reply to Hsü Mao-yung on the Issue of Anti-Japanese United Front"

(12) (19) (20) "Correspondence of Lu Hsün: Letter to Yang Chi-yün--August 28, 1936."

(14) (26) "On Contradiction"

(15) (16) (17) (18) (Grave: "On Delayed Introduction of 'Fairplay'")

(21) "Correspondence of Lu Hsün: Letter to Yang Chi-yün--May 22, 1934."

(22) "Southern Tone and Northern Tune Collection: Insults and Threats Are No Fighting"

(23) "A False Declaration of Freedom: Refutation of 'In Name and Not in Fact'"

(24) "Letter to Chang T'ing-ch'ien--February 22, 1930"

* * *

Lu Hsün's Radiant Image Inspires Us to Fight

- On the /15-folio-page/ serial of paintings "Lu Hsün-- Great Revolutionary, Thinker and Writer"

by

I Cheng (毅征)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

This year is the 95th anniversary of the birth of Lu Hsün. When we review the historical scrolls in the serial of paintings "Lu Hsün--Great Revolutionary, Thinker and Writer," there flashes across our eyes Lu Hsün's radiant image--"With frowning brows I coldly defy the thousands pointing their accusing fingers at me; with bowed head I meekly submit as an ox for the child to ride on."

"The chief commander of China's cultural revolution, Lu Hsün was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary." ("On New Democracy") Great leader Chairman Mao had long ago highly appraised Lu Hsün, and since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution he has on many occasions called on us to learn from Lu Hsün. The life of Lu Hsün is a brilliant life of unyielding struggle against restorationists and capitulationists of all descriptions. To study and promote Lu Hsün's fighting spirit is of vital immediate significance for us in struggling against the bourgeoisie inside the Party and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in the historical period of socialism. For this reason, to use fine art and other literary and art forms to propagate and eulogize Lu Hsün and to mold a radiant image of him is not only dictated by the needs of class struggle, but is also an unshirkable, glorious responsibility for us revolutionary fighters in the field of literature and art.

On the basis of a deep understanding of Chairman Mao's lofty evaluation of Lu Hsün and a study of Lu Hsün's writings, the authors of the "Lu Hsün" serial of paintings ardently created a set of water color serial of paintings with definite political quality and special artistic features. This set of collectively created serial of paintings and the oil painting "Never Stop Fighting" are products of fine art of relatively representative nature molding Lu Hsün's image in recent years; they are also the gratifying results on the fine art front of the revolution in literature and art exemplified by the revolutionary model theatrical works.

The revolutionary activities throughout Lu Hsün's life are extremely rich in content. The first problem that was encountered in the production was how to select meaningful subject material to portray Lu Hsün in limited space. The authors of the "Lu Hsün" serial of paintings did not select a certain subject because it was easy to paint; rather, from the plane of class and line struggles they selected the major topics that were most capable of demonstrating Lu Hsün's revolutionary spirit and made an artistic generalization of the important events in the battles of Lu Hsün.

To stress the point that Lu Hsün was a great revolutionary and thinker, over half of the space of the serial of paintings were devoted to portraying the fighting course in which Lu Hsün became a Marxist in the last ten years of his life. Based on a large amount of historical material, these paintings vividly reveal the huge impact exerted on Lu Hsün by the Chinese revolution led by the Party and Chairman Mao as well as the decisive meaning of Marxist theory that made Lu Hsün turn from a revolutionary democrat into a communist. Lu Hsün in his prolonged revolutionary struggle and guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, was in his tireless quest for the revolutionary truth of the proletariat and ceaselessly criticized the ideologies of all exploiting classes. After Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution in 1927, faced with the bloody lessons of class struggle Lu Hsün firmly stood on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and finally became a great communist, thereby starting his most glorious battle in his life. The authors put the emphasis on an exaltation of Lu Hsün's great revolutionary struggle in the last decade of his life, thus effectively increasing the militancy of these works. Before the great cultural revolution, owing to the domination of the revisionist sinister line in literature and art, some literary and art works and products of fine art that portrayed Lu Hsün covered up and obliterated as far as possible Lu Hsün's revolutionary soul or described Lu Hsün merely as a "man of letters" or imposed the idealist "prior knowledge and consciousness" on him. The creation of the "Lu Hsün" serial of paintings draws a line of distinction with these erroneous ideas of creation and, with historical materialism as the guide, artistically restores the original outlook of history. This too is a forceful criticism of the revisionist sinister line in literature and art.

From sketches to color drawings, subjects which were not closely related to the main theme were dropped after repeated speculation, and there were added such paintings with important content as "I Recommend Hsüan Yüan /alternative name of Huangti or Yellow Emperor/ with My Blood" and "Utter Loyalty to the Revolutionary Cause of the Proletariat." The latter painting reveals that after the founding of the Chinese Communist Party Lu Hsün declared his obedience to the Party leadership and it was by the Party's "orders" that he carried out his revolutionary activities and produced his literary works. In the creation of each and every painting, the authors sought to put class struggle to the fore. The painting "In Quest of Truth" at first showed Lu Hsün leaving his hometown and bidding farewell to his mother. The authors later felt that using such petty bourgeois sentiment to express the mood of a man parting with his family would tarnish Lu Hsün's image in his quest of revolutionary truth. Realizing that they should take the proletarian stand in warmly praising a fighter on his way to battle, they replaced this scene of parting with one in which Lu Hsün marched in large strides with his head held high on his way to battle. The sufferings of the laboring people under the dark rule were also implied in the painting as Lu Hsün, his heart pained by the brutal class oppression suffered by "a thousand hungry families," betrayed with his deep thinking mood and the firm look in his eyes his determination to change this riddled dark society. This revision markedly raised the ideological nature of the work.

The 15-page serial of paintings are linked to one another with Lu Hsün's image as the main body, and yet each of them has relative independence. According to the unified demand of the main theme, the authors meticulously portrayed the characteristics of Lu Hsün's image in different specific circumstances, not only paying attention to Lu Hsün's outward appearance but also doing their best to reveal his revolutionary integrity in an effort to attain relatively high artistic generalization. For the first portrait that expresses the idea of the main theme in the serial of paintings, the authors concentrated on depicting Lu Hsün's tough and reflective facial expression, revealing his unyielding revolutionary integrity. With the dark rule in Shanghai in the last decade of Lu Hsün's life as the backdrop, this painting shows the sky as overcast with some light of dawn seen in the distant clouds, conveying a state of mind that the day was soon to break. The light of dawn shone on Lu Hsün's silhouette, revealing his defiance of the ferocious enemy and his complete faith in the revolution and conviction that light would surely triumph over darkness. What an image of a solemn and brave revolutionary fighter! Lu Hsün's image from the first painting leaves the viewers a deep impression, playing the role of the "main melody" for the character portraits in the whole set of the serial of paintings. "Telegram of Congratulation to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee" discloses that on hearing the news that the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army led by Chairman Mao had triumphantly arrived at northern Shensi, Lu Hsün with excitement and joy wrote a telegram of congratulation to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Holding the telegram in his hand, he rose from a chair majestically, his eyes glittering with respect and admiration. In this painting the authors deliberately depicted Lu Hsün's full face. A ray of brilliant sunlight from outside the window shone on his smiling face, amply expressing his deepest revolutionary feeling for Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, forming the climax of Lu Hsün's mood in the serial of paintings.

To give prominence to Lu Hsün's image, the serial of paintings when handling the relationships between Lu Hsün and other characters, gave much attention to the contrast between positive and negative characters. "Support the Just Struggle by the Students of the Girls' Normal College" shows Lu Hsün surrounded by students, and "Concern for and Training of Youths" shows a group of young people attentively listening to Lu Hsün, and depicted in the painting, these are the new-born forces with vitality and hope, illustrating Lu Hsün's militant determination to "anxiously bring up a large group of new fighters" to break the cage of that dark society. These paintings show us warmly that Lu H ün, like a gardener who carefully tends his flowers or a fighter who bravely spreads the seeds of revolution, works and fights hard for the liberation of China. According to the needs of the main theme and the plots, negative images appear in some paintings. "At the School Affairs Emergency Meeting of Canton Chungshan University" shows Lu Hsün waging a face-to-face struggle against the reactionary school authorities in his effort to rescue the students who had been arrested. In handling negative characters, this painting does not confine itself to demeaning their appearance, but contrasts their feeble nature with Lu Hsün's lofty image. His hands resting on the back of a chair, he angrily denounces several reactionary lackeys. Like a pine tree, he stands erect with a force overwhelming the enemy.

The first draft of "Bitterly Reprimanding the 'Four Fellows'" showed the "four follows" jumping off a car and charging toward Lu Hsün. As the scene was so dominated by these negative characters like characters in a caricature, it was impossible to show Lu Hsün's lofty image. Later the authors replaced the scene with one in which the ghostly shadows of the "four follows" sharply contrast with Lu Hsün's open and above-board image, thereby greatly raising the artistic effect. In the painting, Lu Hsün proudly stands upright in front of Neishan Bookstore, with four ghostly shadows at the foot of the wall sharply contrasting with Lu Hsün's white gown, illustrating Lu Hsün's fearless revolutionary spirit of going against the tide.

The serial of paintings also demonstrate Lu Hsün's radiant image through the description of typical environment. "Assiduously Study Marxism" is the most important painting in the serial of paintings. With white terror reigning, Lu Hsün avidly reads Marxist-Leninist works in a secret chamber. At first the painting over-emphasized the atmosphere of the secret chamber, putting the character in a state of extreme tension. Later, the painting showed a large pile of books on the desk to show how he read avidly. But such an arrangement did not conform to Lu Hsün's reading habit nor gave expression to the impact of Marxist theory on Lu Hsün. After opinions were extensively solicited and repeated revision, the composition of the painting was finally found. It shows Lu Hsün reading at his desk, completely absorbed by the "enlightened philosophy" in the book. He strikes a match but forgets to light his cigarette. He deeply comprehends the revolutionary truth, and Marxist theory makes him see the light suddenly. To put the main theme to the fore, the authors intensively describe the surrounding and the atmosphere: Marxist-Leninist works are piled up on and beside the desk neatly to show Lu Hsün's seriousness in study. The electric bulb is covered with a piece of old newspaper, and under the books is a piece of blue cloth to be used to wrap up the books in case of emergency--a hint that Lu Hsün risks his life studying Marxism under the fascist rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries. Some writing paper is put on the desk and on the bookshelf is a small table clock showing it is midnight, graphically illustrating Lu Hsün's spirit of persevering in study in the midst of tense fighting. Thus the meaning of the painting is greatly increased. Besides, the painting "I Recommend Hsüan Yüan with My Blood" shows sea waves pounding against the shore in a Japanese coast, symbolizing Lu Hsün's tide of nostalgia for the mother country while he is in Japan. It is through the intensive design of the scenes and the use of a variety of artistic means for characterization that the "Lu Hsün" serial of paintings reveal from many aspects Lu Hsün's militant life and noble personality.

With regard to how to project images of characters, Lu Hsüan had expressed a great deal of precious opinions. He reminded people not to concentrate on "the whole head," pointing out: "It is necessary to delineate the characteristic of a person in the most economical way; it is best to draw his eyes." ("How I Began Writing Novels," Southern Tone and Northern Tune Collection) This suggestion is very important to our fine art creation. Some fine art workers often neglect this precious opinion. When they draw a heroic character, they do not emphasize drawing his eyes but exert their efforts in the secondary aspects. As a result, the image of a character is unappealing. The authors of the "Lu Hsün" serial of paintings basically project images of

characters according to Lu Hsün's suggestion, and the projection of images in many paintings is relatively successful. However, judging by the whole set of the paintings, the description of the eye is still not sufficiently balanced. In some paintings the eyes of the characters appear rather crude. The last of the serial paintings--"Bend One's Effort to the Task Until Death," though delineating Lu Hsün's spirit of fighting ceaselessly as long as he breathes, fails to make the eye of the character shine, putting too much weight on his agony. The result is that the fighting spirit is still sufficiently displayed. This is an aspect that remains to be improved.

The great revolutionary struggle produced the great Lu Hsün as well as conceiving and nurturing militant literary and art works. The achievements of the "Lu Hsün" serial of paintings based on the historical material of the revolution vividly prove that without the great proletarian cultural revolution and the revolution in literature and art exemplified by the revolutionary model theatrical works, it would have been impossible to produce such works. However, the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing maliciously assailed the revolutionary model theatrical works as "a single flower blooming alone" and "impeding the development of literature and art." In the fine art circles some people chimed in and cried aloud that "the experience of the model theatrical works is not applicable to fine art creation." The creation of the "Lu Hsün" serial of paintings shows with incontroversial facts that the revolution in literature and art exemplified by revolutionary model theatrical works is the locomotive propelling the development of socialist literature and art and that the experience of the creation of the revolutionary model theatrical works is entirely applicable to fine art creation. This is a forceful answer to the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts stirred up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

It is 40 years since Lu Hsün, the forerunner of the cultural revolution, left us. But his revolutionary spirit lives forever in the heart of each and every revolutionary comrade of ours. In the successive revolutionary struggles which Chairman Mao led us to carry out, Lu Hsün's great image and brilliant thought invariably inspired us to fight. We hope that in the future greater efforts will be made to use fine art and other literary and art forms to eulogize and propagate Lu Hsün in order to inspire the proletariat and the revolutionary people and promote Lu Hsün's thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit, so that we will always continue to carry on our attack against imperialism, revisionism and the inner-Party capitalist roaders!

* * *

The Two-Line Struggle in China's History of Earthquakes

by

Yüeh Ting (岳定)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 9, Sept. 1, 1976)

Recently, a quake occurred in the T'angshan-Fengnan area, Hopei province, and Tientsin and Peking were also affected. With the close concern of our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and the support of the people of the whole country, the heroic people of the stricken areas, together with PLA commanders and fighters, fought gallantly and won great victories in their anti-quake and relief work. Later, strong quakes also occurred in Sungp'an-P'ingwu area, Szechwan province, but due to advance warning and precautionary measures taken, there was little loss.

An earthquake, like wind and rain, is a natural phenomenon which occurs frequently. When people get used to it, they will not be surprised by it. Approximately five million tremors take place annually in the world, and only about one percent of them are felt. Big quakes which are capable of causing serious destruction are rare. Ours is a quake-prone country. According to statistics, there have been only 17 quakes of magnitude 8 or above since 1303. A big quake can of course cause certain destruction, but man will triumph over nature, and as long as we have the leadership of the Communist Party and the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Chinese people will be able to surmount any difficulty, overcome the effects of the quake, and perform miracles.

There have all along been two different lines of knowledge about earthquakes. One is the materialist line of knowledge which reflects the interests of advanced classes and political groups; the other is the idealist line of knowledge which reflects the interests of reactionary classes and political groups. In ancient times the debate on earthquakes acutely reflected the political struggle between different classes and factions. To look back on the two-line struggle in the history of earthquakes in our country will help us shatter the class enemies' rumors aimed at sabotage today, deepen our criticism of Teng, carry out the anti-quake and relief work, and win still greater victories in socialist revolution and construction.

Let us begin with the big debate launched on the question of earthquakes in the Northern Sung period.

In the first year (1068) of Hsining during the reign of Emperor Shentsung of Northern Sung, several quakes occurred, and a heated debate on this ensued between the diehards and the reformers within the landlord class. People like Wang An-shih held that "every natural calamity is due to the forces of nature and not to the will of man." This meant that a quake was a natural phenomenon unrelated to man's will. They considered nature as an objective existence independent of man's consciousness, and upheld the materialist outlook of nature. Therefore, they had nothing to fear and dared to put forward the militant slogan "portents of Heaven are not to be feared." At that time, a chieftain of the diehard faction, Fu Pi, in a

memorial to the throne vehemently attacked Wang An-shih and others for attributing the causes of earthquakes to "forces of nature." Apart from peddling the Confucian sinister idealist theory that "calamities and strange portents result from the sovereign's inability to use the worthy and to dismiss the unworthy," he posed as a seismic expert. He said: "The earth which is large, thick and static, cannot be shaken." He also said: "The earth is quiet, its motion is unusual."(1) He described the earth as "extremely static" and advocated that rest was absolute and motion was abnormal, thus flagrantly preaching rigid metaphysics. But, is there any "absolutely static" thing in the world? Motion is the attribute inherent in all matter; matter without motion or motion without matter are equally inconceivable. When Wang An-shih said "changes are the rule of Heaven,"(2) he spoke out the truth that matter is in motion and changes. Why, then, did Fu Pi seize the question of earthquakes and energetically preach idealism and metaphysics? The facts are very clear: as a diehard, he bitterly resented Wang An-shih's reform, and his purpose in playing up the issue of earthquakes was to launch a counter-attack in revenge against Wang. He attributed the cause of earthquakes to Emperor Shentsung failing to "employ the worthy and dismiss the unworthy," in other words, failing to assign important positions to the diehards and fire the reformers. He wanted to frighten Shentsung and force him to abolish the reform. He even cried aloud that since "the earth is quiet," "we also should live in quiet." By distorting and forging the law of nature to be adapted to man's affairs, be opposed changes and advocated that everything should be done according to the old regulations of diehards. This was what he meant by "quiet." Another chieftain of the diehard faction by the name of Wen Yen-po also clamored that "only with quiet can we deal with this (earthquake)."(3) The diehard Lü Hui even more barefacedly declared that "if An-shih had lived long in a temple, he should have had peace and quiet."(4) Thus it can be seen that the diehards, by reversing the relationship between matter and spirit in philosophy, nagating the motion and change of matter and fanatically publicizing idealism and metaphysics, served nothing but their reactionary politics. Here, the political struggle took the form of philosophical struggle; the objective features of nature were twisted through philosophy and used as a tool for political struggle. This struggle of more than 900 years ago deserves to be carefully studied by those who hold that man's struggle against nature has nothing to do with political struggle.

This struggle in the years of Hsining of Northern Sung was but a continuation of the two-line struggle in the history of earthquakes in our country. Leafing through this history, we see that the first representative of the reactionary line may be traced to Confucius. Taking the stand of the declining slave-owning class, he opposed the reform of the newly emerging landlord class, and went all out to advocate "the theory of Heavenly mandate." When working on Ch'un Ch'iu (Spring and Autumn Annals), he put earthquake on the top of the list of natural calamities. Tung Chung-shu of Western Han systematized and theorized Confucius' "Heavenly mandate" and worked out a set of reactionary theories of "interaction between Heaven and man." He alleged that everything in the world was arranged according to the will of "Heaven," that man's behavior might affect the mood of Heaven, that Heaven warned and punished man through "calamities," and that earthquake was one of the indications of such "Heaven's wrath." On the other hand, Liu Hsiang in the last year of Western Han willfully distorted historical facts, describing all earthquakes as man-made disasters. In the 9th year (618 B.C.) of Duke Wen of Lu

and in the third year (492 B.C.) of Duke Ai of Lu, two quakes occurred one after another. He /Liu Hsiang/ alleged that these were due to the rebellion of the princes against the Son of Heaven of Chou, to the employment of the reformers and the non-employment of Confucius. Later some diehards advanced all sorts of absurdities on the question of earthquakes, but these generally did not go beyond the framework established by Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang, and were different only in the content of the rumors and the concrete targets of attack based on the political needs of their times. They were politically extremely reactionary and scientifically ignorant, what they said about the causes of the earthquakes was utter nonsense, and their seismic knowledge was nil. These stupid fellows not only had no interest in studying seismology, but also forbade others to carry out scientific research. They talked volubly about earthquakes for the purpose of creating rumors and trouble and reversing the direction of social progress.

In our seismic history the progressive line developed in its struggle against the reactionary line. The representatives of the progressive line, persisting in the direction of reform, applied the materialist viewpoint in criticizing all sorts of idealist fallacies. Their study of earthquake left behind extremely rich seismological data. Some of them drew on the experiences of the masses in their struggle against nature, created and discovered something new, and contributed to China's seismology.

During the Ch'un Ch'iu period Po Yang-fu made an analysis of the causes of a big quake which occurred in the Ching, Wei and Lo river basins during the 2nd year (780 B.C.) of King Yu of Chou. He said: "When the Yang /positive forces/ lies low and is unable to come out and the Yin /negative forces/ is compressed and unable to evaporate, we have an earthquake."(5) He sought the causes of nature's changes from nature itself, taking the contradiction within nature--struggle between Yin and Yang--as the basis of nature's changes. This was a simple materialist theory of knowledge. However, he went on and attributed the fall of the Chou Dynasty to earthquakes,contending that there was a cause and effect relationship between natural and social phenomena, and thus arrived at an erroneous conclusion. The noted progressive thinker Liu Tsung-yüan of T'ang Dynasty wrote a comment directed against the errors of Po Yang-fu. He not only upheld the materialist view that the motion of nature was "self-motion and self-rest" and "self-slip and self-deficient,"(6) but also refuted the theory that an earthquake could cause the fall of a state. He correctly pointed out that the fall of Western Chou was not due to earthquakes but had political reasons. The Legalist Hsün K'uang of the Warring States period absorbed and summed up the astronomic knowledge related to agricultural production of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods. Refuting the Confucian "theory of Heavenly mandate," he pointed out that "Heaven acts according to its own rules; it does not exist for Yao nor perish for Chieh." He held that the motion of nature was governed by a law and independent of man's will, and that it was necessary to separate natural from social phenomena. He refuted those who used heavenly portents to create rumors to deceive the public and spread terror. He argued that natural phenomena could be known and that people could conquer nature when they knew the natural phenomena. This was his shining idea that man would triumph over nature; he said "let us subdue the will of Heaven and make use of it."(7)

Hsün K'uang's materialist concept broke the bondage of the "theory of Heavenly mandate," playing a huge role in propelling the development of natural science. As history proves, the "theory of Heavenly mandate" has always been a stumbling block to scientific development and the slogan "man will triumph over nature" the greatest inspiration to people in their struggle against nature. The materialist thinker Wang Ch'ung of Eastern Han, inheriting Hsün K'uang's materialism, violently assailed the theological teleology of "interaction between Heaven and man" propagated since Tung Chung-shu. He basically refuted the allegation that natural "disasters" such as earthquakes were indications of "Heaven's wrath." He said: "The way of Heaven is but nature, purposeless."(8) Since nature had no consciousness nor a purpose, changes in nature were caused by nature itself. "Since man cannot move the earth, he also cannot move Heaven."(9) Less than 40 years after Wang Ch'ung's death, that is, 132 A.D., China's outstanding scientist Chang Heng invented a seismograph for detecting the position of earthquakes, writing a shining page in our history of earthquakes.

Chang Heng's seismograph, the first scientific instrument for detecting earthquakes in human history, appeared more than 1,700 years earlier than similar instruments in the West. His seismograph was made of bronze in the shape of a big wine bottle with a diameter of eight feet. Eight bronze dragons were set around the bottle, lined up in eight directions--east, west, south, north, northeast, southeast, northwest and southwest. A bronze ball was placed in each dragon's mouth, and below the head of each dragon sat a bronze toad with its open mouth turning upward. When a quake occurred in a direction and the vibration of tremor coming therefrom, the bronze ball in the mouth of the dragon facing that direction would drop into the mouth of the bronze toad. With the bronze ball striking the bronze toad, a clear sound was produced, and it was possible by this means to gauge the position of the quake. In 138 A.D., a quake struck Lunghsi (southeastern Kansu), and the mouth of the dragon of the seismograph installed by Chang Heng in Loyang spat out a bronze ball, and it was determined that a quake had broken out in the western part of the county. But a group of Confucians who believed only in Confucianism and not in science did not think that a quake had occurred. A few days later, reports from Lunghsi confirmed Chang's observation, and gave a sound slap on the face of these fellows. The invention of Chang Heng's seismograph was a result of the two line struggle in the ideological and political spheres at that time. Politically Chang was a reformer, and two years before he invented the seismograph, in his memorial to the throne he exposed the eunuchs and the influential who "perpetrated evil deeds in the four seas." He called for striking at the conservative forces of the eunuchs and influential and the introduction of political reforms. In the 6-7 years before and after Chang Heng invented the seismograph, earthquakes often occurred in the Loyang area, and the Confucians used devinations and distorted commentaries to spread superstitious thoughts. In his "Memorial for the Extermination of Divinations and Distorted Commentaries," Chang Heng dealt them a severe head-on blow by describing them as "cheaters."(10) He derided these Confucians for creating fallacies instead of studying science, saying that they were like painters who liked to draw not dogs and horses but ghosts, because you could draw a ghost anyway you liked, but not a dog or horse. He firmly called for banning divinations, and this was commendable when divinations thrived. As he upheld progress in politics and

materialism in philosophy, he was also able to make outstanding contributions in science. After Chang Heng, there were also some scientists who studied seismology in our country. For example, Hsin Tu-fang of the Southern and Northern Dynasties drew a picture of an instrument for detecting earthquakes and wrote the book ch'i chuen (器准 Standard Instrument). Lin Hsiao-kung of the Sui Dynasty also wrote the Classics on Bronze Earthquake Apparatus. It is a pity that under the rule of the reactionary line, these books were not handed down.

Scientist Shen K'uo of the Northern Sung, who adhered to the Legalist line, conducted a personal inspection of the earthquake in Tengchou (now the Yent'ai prefecture, Shantung province). He said that here quakes had occurred for "more than 50 years, and the local population has got used to them."(11) For more than 50 years small tremors had constantly occurred here and the local people were so used to them that they took them in their strides. This was a most interesting materialist viewpoint. The fact that the ancient laboring people "got used to" small quakes which occurred continuously and were felt was because in a certain degree they understood that earthquake was a kind of daily natural phenomenon and was not something to get alarmed about. He also found oyster shells and oval stone layers between the cliffs on Mount Taihang and determined that these areas had been sea coasts in the past"(12). Now, he asserted, they were separated by the sea in the east by nearly a thousand li, thus verifying geological change and the change of the sea into mulberry fields.

What is especially precious is the heroic spirit shown by the revolutionary people of our country in the face of an earthquake. They struggle against heaven and earth and against reactionary classes. No difficulty or danger can deter them from marching forward. In the 2nd month of the third year of Kueich'ou (1853) of T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo, the T'ai-p'ing army captured Nanking. In April the city was struck by a quake, and in Chujung County "several serious shocks occurred in a matter of ten days."(13) The reactionaries took the opportunity to fabricate rumors and carry out sabotage in a vain attempt to confuse the people and shake the newly-established T'ai-p'ing system. In view of this, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, the T'ai-p'ing revolutionary leader, promptly issued an edict on the earthquake, refuting the blatant rumors of the enemy and putting forward the highly militant slogan: "When the earth rocks, it signifies the advent of a new earth; when heaven spins, it signifies the establishment of a permanent heavenly kingdom." With an unyielding heroic spirit in face of the rocking of the land, he encouraged all the T'ai-p'ing revolutionary fighters to advance "courageously," pursue and annihilate the enemy in retreat. "The day has come to wipe out all evils and unify the country."(14) Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's unflinching will of battling against heaven and earth reflected the mind and spirit of revolutionaries as revolutionary optimists.

The fact that some ancient scientists in our country were able to create and invent something and make relatively correct judgments about earthquakes is inseparable from their drawing on the practical experiences of the masses. Our laboring people have summed up lots of experiences in

practice about certain physical, chemical, biological and climatic changes before the occurrence of an earthquake. For example, Ch'inchou was hit by a quake in the 22nd year (734) of K'aiyüan of T'ang. Before the quake "the people of Ch'inchou heard sound from the ground in the northwest of the district, and a short while later shocks took place." In the 3rd year (787) of Chenyüan of T'ang, an earthquake occurred close to Ch'angan. Before the shocks "startled birds flew away from their nests."(15) In the 5th year (1021) of Tienhsi of Sung, Huachou was hit by a quake. "People claimed that for several years clouds were often seen over the peaks, and mumbling sound could be heard whenever a rainstorm occurred." On the evening of the day the quake struck, "there was little wind and rain, but then suddenly mist rose over the mountain and sounds gradually got louder. The earth rocked."(16) The masses also suggested: "When the sky utters sound, the stars vanish," "Lichu /a kind of bamboo/ blossoms," "Peach and plum ripen from winter to spring, and all flowers blossom," "groups of rats fight with cats in the daytime"--these and other signs could be the premonitory signs of a quake. Yinch'uan Records also states: "If the water of a well suddenly becomes muddy, there are scattered and long sounds, and the dogs bark, precaution must be taken against this (earthquake)." Knowing from practice the various premonitory signs of a quake, people then took precautionary measures, one of which was to evacuate to a safe place. On the 10th month of the 13th (1534) of Chiaching of Ming, a quake struck Enp'ing and Yangchiang, when "many people fled to the capital of Honan, which alone was not affected by the quake at the time."(17) These very valuable data indicated that in their anti-quake struggle the Chinese people gradually advanced toward understanding the law of earthquakes. This kind of data is very rich in our documents, waiting to be dug, collated and summed up.

The struggle between the two lines in the history of earthquakes in our country is chiefly focused on two aspects: First, how an earthquake occurs; second, whether it is possible to know a quake? Swayed by the idealist philosophy, people of reactionary classes and political groups said that a quake was unknowable. They distorted the causes of earthquakes for the purpose of serving their reactionary political line, thereby seriously hampering the development of China's seismic science. Swayed by the materialist philosophy, people of the progressive classes and political groups regarded an earthquake as a frequent natural phenomenon which was not to be feared. They strove to study this natural phenomenon and find its law so as to guard against and triumph over it and thus serve social progress and development of production. The historical experience is a mirror. Today, if we want to triumph over the disastrous effects of an earthquake, we must in the first place face the problem of political line. This means it is essential to take class struggle as the key link, and adhere to the socialist road, deepen the criticism of Teng, beat back the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, and strike at the rumors and sabotage by class enemies. Under the centralized leadership of the Party, we must pool our efforts together to fight the quake and provide relief, combining modern and indigenous methods, integrating specialists and the masses, and developing observation and precaution by the masses. We must rely on the masses to accomplish well the work of prediction and precaution. Provided we firmly implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we will certainly be able to win bigger victory in

anti-quake and relief work and gradually master the law governing the occurrence and development of earthquakes in the field of seismology so as to make greater contributions to the defense of socialist revolution and construction and to safeguarding the lives and property of the people!

Note:

(1) (3) Manuscripts on Important Events in Sung: Strange Portents Part III.

(2) Collection of Wang Wen-kung: Letters from Ho, T'u and Lo.

(4) Imperial Documents: On Wang An-shih.

(5) Histories of Warring States: History of Chou.

(6) Collection of Liu Ho-tung: Refutation of Some Points in Histories OF Warring States.

(7) Hsün Tzu: On Heaven.

(8) Lun Heng: Admonition.

(9) Lun Heng: Changes.

(10) Book of Latter Han: Biography of Chang Heng.

(11) Pen Talks on the Dream Brook, Vol. 21.

(12) Ibid, Vol. 24.

(13) Kuanghsü's Records of Chujung County, quoted from Yearly Table of Seismological Data in China.

(14) Selected W rks of Hung Hsiu-ch'üan.

(15) Important Events in T'ang, Vol. 42.

(16) History of Sung: Record of Five Elements.

(17) Erh-shen-yeh Records.

* * *

END

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Technical Information Service
Springfield, Va. 22161

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COM-211

U.S.MAIL

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PRINTED MATTER

CMP X761231 001
UNIV ILLINOIS LIB AT CHICAGO CIRCLE
LIB SERIALS SEC
BOX 8198
CHICAGO IL 60680